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Mitten-Mahon Agreement

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Headlines and Hunger Strikers

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

Mother Throws Out Baby

A. J. MUSTE

Shaw Speaks to Women

FANNIA M. COHN

\$2.50 per Year

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Labor Age

Headlines and Hunger Strikers

Heroic Battle in Kenosha Being Won by Publicity

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

THEY have been re-enacting the old drama of "Beauty and the Beast" in Kenosha. The "Beast" is the Allen-A Company, of course, aided and abetted by a subservient City Council. The "Beauty" has been a double role. Two of the girl hosiery strikers have played the part with grace and skill. Their pictures have gone from coast to coast. They are known on Broadway as well as at the Golden Gate. Letters have come to them from the mountain fastnesses of North Carolina and from the factory belt of Connecticut. Spiritual salvation was the concern of some of these communications, and prospective marriage the burden of others. No moving picture star could wish for more limelight. And everywhere the story and photographs of these two girls have gone, the account of the labor dispute in the little city on Lake Michigan has gone also. It is now a matter of nation-wide discussion.

Hunger striking brought this attention to Mertice Hudson and Amanda Rittner, and to the cause which they represent. For the seventh and eighth time respectively, they had been arrested for alleged picketing and yelling around the Allen-A Mill. In protest, they refused bail and began their hunger strike in the Kenosha county jail. For 11 days they refused food. After four days, on the advice of doctors secured by the union, they did take a bit of water every day. That was their sole subsistence until their case came to trial, resulting in a glorious acquittal. After two minutes of deliberation in the municipal court, the jury found them "Not Guilty."

A sigh of relief went up from the crowd jamming the courtroom and the corridors of the courthouse, when this verdict was returned. Exultant friends and fellow-workers greeted the girls with acclaim. But the Beast was not satisfied. In Kenosha no locked-out worker is being convicted for the offences which they are alleged to have committed. Why should they be? In each instance, the evidence has been overwhelmingly in their favor. Most of the cases have been for such petty charges as alleged picketing and yelling. With 600 ar-

rested, only a small number have ever been brought to trial, because of the slinness or falseness of the evidence. Therefore, the Allen-A Company—through its high-priced lawyers in Milwaukee — rushes the locked-out workers into Federal Court, to face charges of contempt for the same identical offences on which they have been slated and tried in Kenosha. The viciousness of the injunction, in thus violating the fundamental principle of Anglo-Saxon law, that a man shall not be tried twice for the same offence, is clear and evident. Ninety of such cases—most of them for alleged picketing—now await trial in **Milwaukee**.

The hunger strikers represent the spirit of all the workers after seven months of conflict. It is this spirit which has continued to place the Allen-A situation on the front pages of the papers all through these months. Special articles continue to be written on the situation. Reporters who come to scoff, because of the frequent news dispatches on violence in the strike zone, return to praise—or at least with a new viewpoint. They are freely admitted to the meetings of the workers, to the committee meetings also if they wish, and are given free access to the whole run of things. Typical of these articles is the following from the front page of the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS of August 27th:

YOUTH MILITANT RULES STRIKERS

Cheer Leaders "Pep Up" Sessions of Young Textile Workers

By Frank A. Smothers

(Special Dispatch from a Staff Correspondent)

Kenosha, Wis., Aug. 27.—When the Kenosha textile strikers get together for a meeting it is like a college "pep session"—including even the cheer leader and the girls.

The cheer leader isn't from a university campus, but more than one of the boys he leads in the shouting are. The girls aren't coeds, but many of them might pass as such. For youth is one of the distinguishing phases of the strike.

There are other phases not so pleasant—particularly violence and the economic issues involved.

Violence Rules Strike

Since the strike—or lockout, as the union calls it—began last February, there have been, according to Chief of Police T. W. Logan, ten bombings in Kenosha county, at least a dozen shootings in the city and a number in the county outside the town, besides several in Racine that were attributed to the strike. Almost innumerable window smashings have occurred, not to say fist fights and brick throwings in the streets.

As to blame for the violence, few authorities agree. Some say the union is responsible. Others declare the Allen-A company, from which the strikers are "out", is to blame. Still others point to "strike sympathizers", or "communists trying to discredit trade unionism."

There is almost equal lack of agreement as to the economic issues. The strikers say they are refusing to work because the Allen-A has installed a "two machine knitting system" that would wreck the health of the knitters and flood the industry with labor, thus leading to wage cuts." National leaders of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers declare the union cannot afford to let such a system spread. Furthermore they criticize the Allen-A company for its stand against collective bargaining and its refusal to submit the case to arbitration.

Contention of Company

On the other hand the company contends the "two machine system" is sound; that it will increase the wages of workers while at the same time reducing costs of production; that it will not lead to wage cuts. Company spokesmen add that they have a right to adopt what industrial methods they want without union interference; that they have a right to deal with the men individually instead of collectively; that opportunities for arbitration came too late.

But as to that other phase, the youth of the strikers, and their spirit of youth, there can be no argument. If you doubt it, go to one of their meetings and hear the cheering.

The leader, an Irish lad by the name of Dooley James, clenches his fists and bends his elbows in the orthodox university way. His eyes flash to the 300 young men and girls—most in the crowd are under 25—and the handful of middle-aged folk before him.

"Are we downhearted?"

"No-o-!"

Sounds Like a Ball Game

It sounded like Patten gym in the basket-ball season.

Above the rolling "noes" of the boys you hear the shrill ones of the girls.

"What's the matter with the Allen-A?"

"Rotten."

"Who says so?"

"We do."

"Who are we?"

"U-n-i-o-n."

Even the leader of the strike joins with the atmosphere of youth. He is Louis Francis Budenz of New York, editor of "Labor Age", a contributor to "The Nation", a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, an attorney and a leader in many labor and liberal causes. Though not a member of the federation, he was sent here by the national headquarters in Philadelphia.

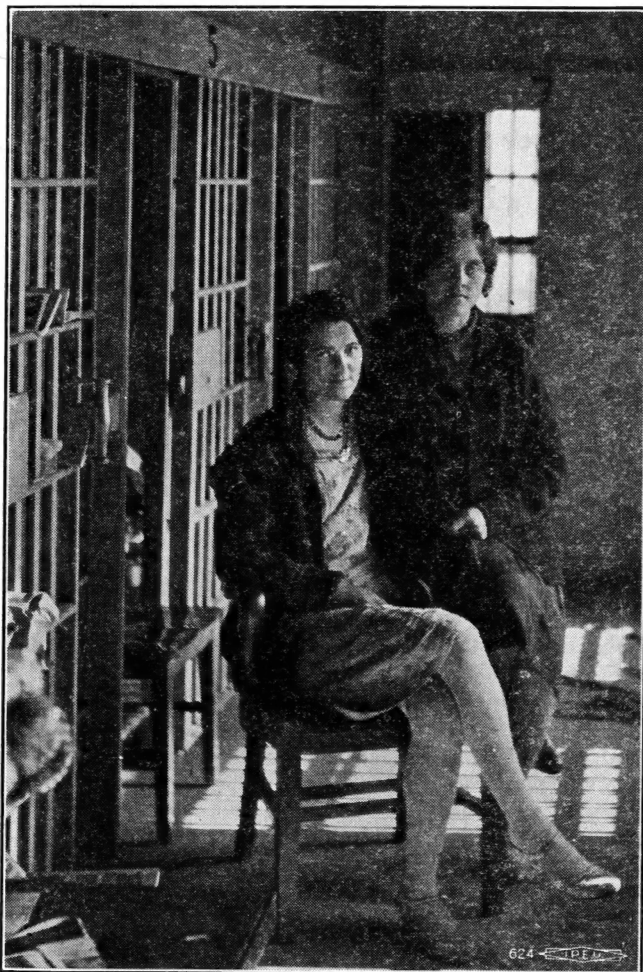
A short, slender man in the thirties, with a composed face but eyes that fire up with animation when he talks, and a voice that booms out when he wants it to. Budenz raps for order on a table and shouts for quiet. The quiet comes, attentive silence.

Clothes Up to Date

Looking around the gathering in a large, neat assembly room, you see lots of girls with sport coats and dresses silk stockings and boyish bobs; boys in collegiate sweaters and many in perfectly pressed suits. There are girls in aprons and house dresses also, and boys in working clothes. But the well-dressed ones have the majority and the good-looking ones have it, too.

Budenz speaks of the refusal of the Allen-A company to submit to arbitration. From his audience come sounds not infrequently heard on college campuses but not so well looked upon by deans of men and women. There are boos and hundreds of catcalls. Nor are the faces so pleasant as before. They are bitter and derisive. The

HUNGER STRIKERS



Courageous Kenosha girls who were acquitted by jury after an 11-day hunger strike.

strike is a game with them—but a bitter game after all.

"The general executive committee of the strike," says Budenz, "has decided to conduct a nationwide arbitration campaign. For one thing, we'll ask every candidate for office in Wisconsin if a company that refuses to arbitrate is representative of Wisconsin thought."

"Don't Tread on Me"

As to the violence, the City Council and the company have made strenuous efforts to place the blame on the locked-out workers. Such attempts have ended in utter failure to date. During the lockout, 3,000 windows have been broken in strikebreakers' homes, some at night, some in the early morning and many in broad daylight. With 100 extra policemen on the force and 150 extra deputy sheriffs, not one clue has been found linking the union workers with such acts. When the City Council, in a desperate frame-up mood, ordered that all union workers on the streets should be picked up and thrown into jail without charges, not one bit of incriminating evidence was found on these young men. What the police did get was an unexpected present: Countless suits for false arrest and illegal search and seizure. "Don't Tread on Me"—the old American Revolutionary cry, reproduced as the basis for labor tactics in the book of that name by Hays and Coleman—is the motto of the brave workers of Kenosha.

There have also been bombings in Kenosha—plenty of them. Up to September 21st, 16 of such explosions had occurred, beginning in early July. Fifteen of these were directed at strikebreakers' homes, and one at the home of a union knitter. Clues of no kind have ever been obtained to any of these acts of violence. The city, however, swarms with private detective agencies. Gum shoe artists haunt every prominent corner. These agencies include: the Burns, Pinkerton, Russell, Sullivan and MacDonald outfits—in addition to the Corporations Auxiliary Company. No sooner had they begun to appear in the city, then the violence commenced, particularly the bombings. An investigation by the union tends to the firm belief that the original bombings, at least, were done by private detectives, the fact that the first homes thus attacked were all conspicuously unoccupied strengthens this opinion. The frame-up offer of Merchant Policeman Emil Fox to two of the locked-out men to blow up a house if they would furnish the dynamite, is additional proof of the real source of the violence. Fox has admitted that he made this offer, stating that he would like to get in on the \$10,000 private "slush fund" offered by the manufacturers for conviction of the bombers. The partial confession of William Trout, Pennsylvania professional strikebreaker, made to Alfred Hoffman, is also illuminating. Trout had lived in the first cottage that was bombed—that owned by Brian Butcher. It had been vacant when attacked. On leaving the mill lately, after a quarrel with the management, Trout came to see Hoffman who was visiting me in Kenosha. He there stated that he had had "a hand" in the bombing of the Butcher cottage, and also bragged that he had taken 5 guns away from green strikebreakers in the mill the night before. It was discovered that there had been a drunken melee in the mill, in which 10 professionals from Pennsylvania had at-

tempted to break the machinery. They had also fought with the green strikebreakers. The next day the 10 left for the East. Their actions in Kenosha confirmed everything that we had stated of them to the citizens. Trout made his statements, incidentally, in the hope of getting back into the union, and to show what an important character he was.

(We have also additional and more dramatic evidence, which will be made public later, as the occasion requires.)

The departure of the 10 professionals leaves only 4 of the original 32 of that group in the mill. Of the green strikebreakers, at least 100 have quit in the last month. The turnover, accordingly, is tremendous; and in a highly skilled industry such as the manufacture of full fashioned hosiery, it is particularly fatal. The "night shift"—which is a sickly imitation of the real thing, kept up in an attempt to fool the locked-out workers—turned out 1600 dozen four weeks ago, and now turns out but 800. These are largely of a defective quality. Indeed, the entire orders sent out, in this height of the busy season, as but 33 per cent of last year at this time, and include purchases made from two other anti-union mills. Were the company not backed by the millions of an absentee owner, it could not possibly have stood up under the terrific battle given it by its youthful workers. Its present plight is best illustrated by its offer in trade papers to grant a special 20 per cent discount to retailers pushing Allen-A full fashioned hosiery. To this low state has the mighty company fallen, which at one time prided itself on the easy saleability of its products.

While all these things go forward, friends of the union boys and girls have issued thousands of automobile tire covers, which carry the message of the Allen-A lockout through the country. They have been seen as far East as Bridgeport, Conn., up in far Canada, and on the Pacific Coast. These tire covers state: "We do *not* buy Allen-A Hosiery. Do You? It is Unfair."

Unionism Spreads—and Frame-Up!

The reaction from the battle in Kenosha itself has been seen in the rapid spread of unionism. The milk drivers, hitherto unorganized, won a 100 per cent victory without a strike. They were granted a closed union shop, \$9 to \$12 extra per week in wages, and improved conditions. Retail clerks are organizing. Drivers of bakery wagons and dyers and cleaners are doing the same. Postal clerks have heard the union call and have acted. Within the Nash Automobile Company, the fire of unionism lives on—waiting for the appropriate moment in a seasonal industry. It is no wonder that the Manufacturers Association drove Chief of Police Thad W. Logan out of his job, and installed a private detective from Milwaukee, John T. Sullivan, in order to frame-up the union workers and "drive Budenz out of town." The secret "slush fund" of \$10,000 soon became \$25,000 under the impetus of this coalition of economic interests. Mr. Charles W. Nash, who recently gave \$400,000 to the Y. M. C. A. after some reluctance, now donates again—this time freely and to destroy unionism in Kenosha through frame-up.

Chief of Police Logan, by the way, had had many

THE PRESENT SCENE

Dual Unionism vs. Inertia

IF we are to have a campaign of organizing that will arouse the unorganized American workers, we must start with some knowledge of Reality. The present economic scene in this country must be understood, or the workers as a whole will get nowhere.

By admission of the leaders of the Labor Movement, inertia injures further organization of the unorganized. Daniel Tobin, president of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs, has mentioned this situation. John Frey, secretary of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., has referred to it. Students of industrial questions have declared that "militancy" among labor unions is a thing of the past—replaced largely by "cooperation."

Whether we agree with these statements in whole or part, there is enough smoke to indicate some fire. Economic conditions have been changing, and the movement has not changed rapidly enough to meet them. Merger and machine have joined hands to increase the hosts of unskilled or semi-skilled labor. The old craft viewpoint is becoming less and less a mark of the American workers. While the Cap-

italist Revolution thus hurries forward, economic chaos faces two of the largest industries with unions organized at least in form on an industrial basis.

Now comes Dual Unionism to assert itself in the matter. But we can see little promise of success for an attempt of this kind.

The regular Labor Movement, to meet the challenge of modern industrial development, must hasten to enlist enthusiasm and idealism in the task of organization ahead. Business Unionism must give way in large part to the fervor of revival. Unionism cannot be thought of as something to be handed out on a platter by employers to hitherto unorganized workers. Intolerance and ultra-conservatism cannot be the marks of a living Movement. Industrial unionism cannot be put off and in reality, in the basic industries. Otherwise, there will be paralysis and torpor.

To arouse the workers to a new battle for freedom, there is plenty of room for folks whose heads may be in the clouds but whose feet are on the ground.

differences with the union leaders. But he was a man of honor, at least, who tried to treat "scabs" and union men with some equal degree of fairness. Sullivan's character can be judged from the fact that he was fired as Chief of Detectives by Mayor Daniel D. Hoan of Milwaukee for alleged malfeasance in office. So great was his offence that Hoan gave him 30 minutes to sign his resignation. He did that—and thus left office under fire. Immediately, he started his private detective agency. Sullivan operatives are now in Kenosha in droves. The mysterious question is: Who is employing them and what are they doing?

Sullivan's first acts are eloquent, also. He called in various soft drink proprietors and billiard hall owners and told them if they did not "get the goods" on the locked-out workers, he would close their places up. Frame-up tactics could not take on a lower form. Beyond that, his posing as a "hard boiled guy"—to quote his own picturesque words—and his constant use of the word "rat", to qualify anyone whom he has occasion to suspect or desires to frame-up, give the true measure of the mental attitude of the man.

"Spike" and Spies

Throughout this mass of intrigue and corruption, there runs the clear-cut cry of the union in its widespread publicity. That publicity is the bane and terror of the company. It is the reason why they turn to frame-up and persecution as weapons in this struggle. They

have tried publicity themselves, but it has always been a boomerang. They asked the Chicago papers to attack the workers, and the Chicago papers had to tell the truth. They have now issued a little mimeographed sheet, the "Spike", to hold up the morale of the distressed strike-breakers. It is significant that this "Spike" quotes extensively from scurrilous and lying literature issued by alleged Communists in Kenosha. These men, stating that they represent the Workers' Party, have acted in the slimy role of strikebreaker. It has been the one sad feature of this brilliant struggle. They have gone so far in their literature as to publish treasonable statements—indicating that the strike was lost and also that the union could not fulfill its promises to maintain the fight indefinitely. In that, they have done the work the Allen-A wanted done. It is no wonder that they have issued such vile stuff, when we uncovered the fact that their local secretary, John Bugna, was a labor spy—known as Q-170. Of course, he was promptly expelled from Communist membership. But subsequent tactics indicate that the spies inside the local "red" group are not all wiped out, by a great deal.

But happily, the young native American workers of Kenosha have paid no heed to such foul statements. They have maintained the same solidarity as in the early months of the struggle. And today, they find themselves in a better position than in the first month of the fight. A great educational work has been done in Kenosha, that will never die.

Herewith we present several articles with a bearing on the Presidential election. Brother James shatters Herbert Hoover's claim to the votes of the workers on the prosperity issue. "Abe" Lefkowitz, for many years a leader in the Farm-Labor Party movement, recommends an analysis of party platforms from a labor viewpoint. Brother Senefelder's contribution also makes a strong plea for a vote against plutocracy, while Arthur Calhoun tells us not to be fooled by the tariff issue.

What happened to the Labor party in Pennsylvania is described by Israel Mufson. The story is somewhat discouraging, and yet independent political action is the only method by which Labor will be able to assert itself politically.

Let us quit playing into the hands of politicians. More and more is the question being asked, "Is not the time ripe for a Labor Party?"

Hoover—Spellbinder for Capital

Bed Time Stories of Workers' Prosperity

By B. M. JAMES

TELLING it to the workers. Herbert Hoover is making a bid for the vote of the working people. Hoover, the expert of the business world, has joined the army of the spell-binders. The workers must be kept in a state of complacency, completely satisfied with things as they are. With all the avenues of information and education controlled by the lords of finance and industry, it is not an impossible task to cast a spell upon the workers, to make them see continuous improvements where there are none. Hoover's Newark speech is characteristic of that beguiling mixture of fact and fiction upon which labor has been fed all this time. The central point of Hoover's argument was that labor in the United States is better off now than at any time before and is, besides, better off than anywhere else in the world; that this great prosperity of the American worker is due to our present social system based "on the full development of the individual" and on privately controlled industry. The workers should therefore join the employers in repelling any subversive movements, aiming to replace capitalism by a new social order. This major argument of Mr. Hoover is accompanied by the minor argument to the effect that the Republican Party, by its wise policies, contributed towards that unheard of prosperity of the working people. So the workers must also be so kind and cast their vote for the Republican Party and Mr. Hoover.

A congenial argument, except that the cold figures tell quite a different story. The Labor Department's Minimum Health and Decency Budget for a family of five amounts to from \$2,054.62 to \$2,511.02, depending upon the locality. But according to the same Labor Department, the average annual earnings of all the workers engaged in manufacturing industries amounted to only \$1,222. Even worse is the plight of the agricultural laborer who averaged \$46.75 per month without board, while over 400,000 railroad workers were averaging less than \$1,000 a year. Even allowing that in certain cases the family income is somewhat increased by the earnings of children and minors, it is still quite clear that present wages do not permit the bulk of the American wage

earners to maintain their families at the bottom level of health and decency.

Workers Share Less

It is rather amazing to see Mr. Hoover who knows or should know the facts, claim that our average real wages are "over fifty per cent greater than before the war." Real wages now are at most only about 25 per cent higher than in 1913. But Mr. Hoover neglects to mention that since 1913 the productivity of the worker grew by leaps and bounds. The workers' share must naturally be compared with the total wealth produced by them. When total production is taken into consideration the share of the American workers dropped nearly 10 per cent under the Republican administration. (The respective index figures being 100 in 1899, 105 in 1921 and 95 in 1927.)

The same sin of omission is committed by Mr. Hoover when he tries to convince the American worker that they are better off than the workers anywhere else in the world. He neglects to state that the productivity of American workers is at least between $2\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 times as high as the productivity, say, of the British workers. In comparison with his production the American worker is really worse off than his fellow worker in Great Britain. Neither is it true that our "real wages and our standard of living are the highest in the world." According to the report of the labor member of the Australian Industrial Commission which recently visited the United States, real wages in the United States are about 30 per cent lower than in Australia.

Mr. Hoover's juggling with facts and figures becomes even worse when he deals with the fundamental evils of the present social order. In the attempt to minimize its inherent maladjustments he borders on the ridiculous. In this best of all possible worlds, Herbert Hoover admits of only two somewhat less bright spots. The bituminous coal and textile industries have, according to him, "only partially recovered to our general industrial prosperity." A mere trifle, indeed! In the same speech Mr. Hoover insists that "behind every job is a vast intricate and delicately adjusted system of interlocked industries." The closing down of a single New Jersey factory puts the whole machine out of order;

endangers the prosperity of our entire industrial fabric. But the admitted lagging behind of two of the greatest industries of the country, mining and textiles, apparently does not, according to the same Mr. Hoover, interfere with our unclouded unprecedented prosperity!

Jobless Millions

It is hard to believe that Mr. Hoover was not aware that the number of totally unemployed last winter were not 1,800,000 as he wants us to believe, but over 4,000,000. Neither was it a mere "temporary dip". Capitalist business depends upon a permanent reserve army of unemployed. At this time, when seasonal industries are at their height, there are at least 2,000,000 totally unemployed and several more millions working only part time. So the very prerequisite of "economic progress to our industrial and business employes" is shattered and together with it is also shattered the very foundation of Mr. Hoover's bed-time story of unprecedented prosperity of the working people.

Restriction of immigration and tariff protection are Hoover's magic wand which enables capitalism to shower its blessings upon labor. Hoover conveniently forgets that while restriction of immigration may bar the importation of foreign workers, it cannot prevent the exportation of jobs. Over one billion dollars of American money was invested abroad during the first six months of this year. At this writing the newspapers report the establishment of a Ford factory in England which will employ 10,000 workers there. The benefits of the high tariff are even more questionable. Competent economists are inclined to consider the high tariff rather as an obstacle than as a helpful factor. In any case, Canada, where tariff was continually lowered since the war, can boast of even more rapid growth of its exports than this country. Hoover's own figures show that the industries which do not depend upon tariff protection (electricians, carpenters and railway engineers) get substantially higher wages than the industries getting the full benefit of tariff protection (steel and textiles).

Do the workers really share in the savings made through labor saving devices and efficiency? There is probably no more efficient and prosperous industry than the automobile industry. Fordization has become a world-wide term for labor-saving and efficiency. The

fabulous fortune made by Ford and the no less fabulous dividends distributed by General Motors have become a byword. But the average wages of the workers in the automobile industry are only \$28.73 a week, which even on a basis of 50 full weeks of employment a year, is not much more than half of what the Minimum Health and Decency Budget demands. Only when industry is owned and controlled collectively do the workers share immediately and directly in every gain in productivity. It is not so in private industry based on the individualistic principle of grab as grab can and the devil take the hindmost. Under these conditions the workers share in the wealth they create only to the extent they are able to assert themselves as an organized power. Thus some of the most prosperous and efficient but unorganized industries like meat packing, steel and automobiles, pay lower wages than much less prosperous and efficient but well organized industries, like building and printing.

Of all the demands made by the American Federation of Labor, upon both political parties, moderate as they are, Hoover mentions none, promises no concessions whatsoever, unless it be the vague expression against the *excessive* use of injunctions. His only bid for the labor vote is an imaginary picture of a non-existing labor prosperity. It is a pity that organized labor has not yet developed a real research department and an effective machinery to make the true facts available to the working people. It is only because the real facts are so little known that Herbert Hoover could offer the dope of his Newark speech as a bid for the labor vote. And let it be said right here that the dope offered to labor by Al Smith and his party is of the same type, equally meant to beguile and befuddle the workers.

To vote either for the Republican or Democratic party is worse than to waste a vote. It amounts to helping with our own hands to build up the machines used by the capitalist class to force upon the working people a condition in which their great majority cannot maintain their families at the bottom level of health and decency. Whatever the difficulties, there is only one way for organized labor, and that is, to divorce itself completely from any of the capitalist parties and establish an all-embracing labor party of its own. Labor has nobody and nothing to depend upon but its own organized strength.

How Shall We Vote?

On Fundamentals Rather Than Platitudes

By ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

THE "New York Times" of September 14th contained a letter from Mr. Rushton Peabody, a life-long Republican, who turned against Mr. Hoover because, for many years he didn't know whether he was a Republican or a Democrat. The writer has carefully read both platforms, Republican and Democratic, for many years and finds it hard to see any fundamental difference between them; their source of financial support of their political allegiance. The "Chicago Journal of Commerce" bluntly told the truth when it

said: "The difference between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party are not much more important than the difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee." The facts more than justify this observation.

Both of the dominant party platforms are for Big Business and protection where necessary so that Textiles are highly protected but the wages paid are the lowest for that section; both are for peace yet vote for the largest navy in our history; both are vaguely solicitous for labor but evade or ignore every fundamental issue raised

by labor; both are for helping the poor, suffering farmer in every conceivable way except the way he wants to be helped.

Moreover, the Republican standard bearer is a former supporter of Democratic President Wilson whose policies he now ignores. He has the support of many leading Democrats like Senator Owen and of leaders in Wall Street. The Democratic candidate is supported by leading Republicans. He has for his campaign manager the leader of the anti-labor General Motor Company, a life-long Republican. Among the contributors to his campaign are other leading giants of Big Business. Southern anti-labor, anti-Catholic drys are supporting a pro-labor, Catholic wet. Under these conditions what can party labels mean when they no longer have any economic or moral basis?

It is tragic indeed that the organized labor movement worships the same fetish—a meaningless party label. It is even more tragic that it furnishes the spectacle of worshipping labels to such an extent that it must nullify its own political efforts. In a word, politically, we find labor scabbing upon itself. The American Federation of Labor is neutral in the campaign. Many State Federations of Labor, as in New York and New Jersey, have endorsed the Democratic candidate. Other state federations such as Illinois and Pennsylvania are supporting the Republican candidate. The same ludicrous division is to be found among the international and local unions. Is it any wonder that political and labor Europe chuckles at the seemingly moronic spectacle furnished by political America? Is it any wonder that instead of discussing vital issues our campaign degenerate into personalities?

In view of this, how should a useful and intelligent worker, farmer or professional man vote?

Analyzing the Platforms

Let the worker examine the platforms of the Democratic, the Socialist and the Republican parties to see which is definitely and unambiguously opposed to the use of injunctions in industrial disputes; which contains effective concrete proposals for elimination of unemployment or its deplorable effects; which provides for the elimination, by legislation, of the effects of old age, injury and sickness upon the workers; which seeks to enact legislation for the protection of women and children forced into industrial life; which advocates a short work day and a short work week (44 hours or less); which advocates the payment of the prevailing rate of wages not only for all government employees but for all the employees of contractors engaged in public work. A party advocating this program should receive the fullest labor support regardless of prior affiliation or chances of immediate victory. Better fight for what you want even though you go down to defeat rather than vote for what you do NOT want and get it with a vengeance. No defeat in a just cause is a "defeat". It is a defeat which but lays the corner stone of ultimate victory.

The farmers should support any party which favors curbing the power of the Federal Reserve Board to manipulate the money market to deflate the farmers

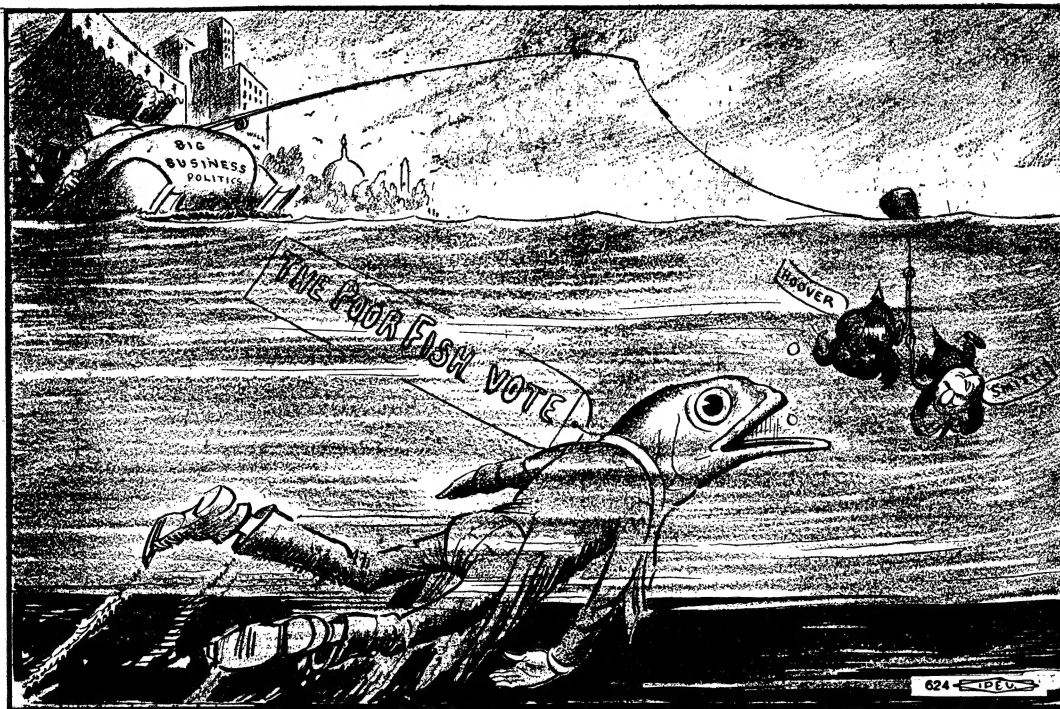
for the benefit of the financial speculation; which advocates giving them the same "unjustifiable" protection as long as it is being granted the Steel and Textile Trusts, even if it means the "equalization fee," which advocates government financial advances to further their cooperative buying and marketing; which advocates the government manufactures and sale of electric power and fertilizer by the cheapest modern scientific processes. No temporary good time should blind them of their permanent economic interests.

The professional men and women should likewise analyze the platforms to see that justice is done their productive fellow workers; that definite guarantees are given to maintain the freedom of the press, assemblage and speech; that child life is to be conserved; that no legislation is countenanced which embodies the principle of censorship such as the Lusk Law; that no legislation is endorsed favoring the control of the social and biological sciences such as the Democratic anti-evolution law of Kentucky; or that the citizens rights of teachers be not curbed as in Seattle.

The workers, farmers and professional men and women should further see if the platforms embody definite programs for the elimination of war, not by the advocacy of pious platitudes but by progressive disarmament, by the outlawry of war, by the acceptance of the World Court, the establishment of an international code; by the distribution, through an impartial expert economic commission, of the economic resources of the world. They should demand the elimination of economic barriers, the gradual establishment of universal labor standards; the application of the principle of self-determination, the elimination of spheres of influence, of the misuses of mandate power and of such imperialistic ventures as the control of Nicaragua and Haiti by the United States. All should likewise note if the platforms contain definite proposals to conserve the nation's natural resources with a view of developing them for the use of the people and not to permit their exploitation by the few of hydro-electric power and nitrates and their sale to the people at cost?

If the voters of America will thus subject each party platform to careful analysis and vote for the party which nearest approaches the highest standard of social service and public devotion to the productive rather than to the exploitive forces, then and then only can a true and solid foundation be laid for a real party dedicated to freedom, to peace and to the advancement of human well-being. Then, and then only, can the progressive, liberal and sanely radical forces of the nation be united in a common bond to eliminate "bunk" from our political life and make our future elections the greatest educational force for developing political intelligence, which alone will make it possible to usher in a sane political and social order. Then and then only will we have a social order in which the buying of U. S. senatorships, the debauching of our educational life by Big Business, the Teapot Dome and War scandals, and the foisting of financial control on small helpless nations will be unthinkable. To this task the thinking men and women of America may well dedicate themselves.

GOOD FISHING



The New Leader (New York)

Art Young, celebrated cartoonist, presents his impression of the Republican and Democratic presidential campaign

Where Is the Labor Vote?

Major Parties Do Not Cater to It

By ALOIS SENEFELDER

A MEMBER of a New York City labor union got up on the floor recently and asked, "Where is the labor vote?" In previous presidential elections we used to hear a great deal about it. Samuel Gompers always spoke about it; and the leading political parties always catered to it. Now no one says a word about it. No Samuel Gompers gets up to exert its influence. No leading political party goes out of the way to capture it. In fact, the labor vote is regarded as negligible! Nobody speaks for it. None of the leading parties seem to care for it. Instead these political parties are both catering to big business! They both seem to want the big industrialists on their side rather than a big labor vote. Why is this? Has labor no longer any political influence? Is labor dead politically? I'd like to know; and I believe there are many other workmen who'd like to know."

If anything these words are an underestimate of the actual situation. For not only do the leading political parties fail to cater to the labor vote but they also parade the backing of big business to the fullest. They print lists of financiers and industrialists as among the backers of their candidates. Most all the names on these lists are those of prominent anti-unionists and labor baiters. In fact, the leading political parties, as viewed by labor,

are neither republican nor democratic but plutocratic and anti-labor. It won't do to point to the past records of their candidates to prove the contrary. Past records are not present performances; and present performances indicate a struggle for the backing of plutocracy, with plutocracy finally in the saddle and labor underfoot, no matter which of the leading parties win. Never has the plutocracy been so powerful politically as at present; for, regardless of the election, it has already won and labor lost.

Under the circumstances, how should labor vote: for plutocracy, as represented by the non-union, anti-labor backing of the leading political parties; or for labor, as represented by one or all of the minor working class political parties? There are three or four of the latter in the field, and a vote for them will be a vote for labor, and against plutocracy. In fact, a big total vote for all of these parties will do more to re-exert the influence of the labor vote than all else combined. A large, protest, radical vote will frighten plutocracy with the menace of an independent labor party; and make known to the world that labor in this country refuses to submit calmly to political slaughter by the parties of plutocracy. The transference of the progressive, farmer and labor vote of 1924 to these minor working class parties will cause the plutocrats of the country "to view with alarm" as they never viewed before; and also make them less bold and more circumspect in their utter disregard of either the rights or interest of labor.

A vote for plutocracy, as represented by the backing behind the leading political parties, is worse than a vote

thrown away; it is political, economic and social suicide; it is reducing labor to the vassalage of capital; it is self-degradation, self-negation, self-annihilation. Nothing could be worse than this self-indictment. Only as labor rises at the ballot-box for, by and of itself, will it be a political factor. Only as labor dare assert itself, regardless of previous entanglements and because of previous deceptions, now being repeated more boldly than ever before, will it rise out of the depths of political impotence and economic ineffectiveness to which the leading political parties are condemning it.

A labor political revolt is the fear of the leading parties. The way is open to make that fear a reality. Labor, will you take it? Answer on election day in such an overwhelming manner that even plutocratic politicians, of all schools, will understand.

Roll up a big labor vote!

The Old Senseless Issue

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

IN spite of the fact that there is no longer a clear clash between parties over the tariff, they will not let the issue die. The tariff is like the old dead king that had to be kept propped up on his throne for state occasions even after he was rotten, for fear people would catch on to the fact that the scepter had departed.

That is not to say that there might not be a certain legitimate vitality in a tariff issue. A Labor government might conceivably levy a prohibitive tax on imports from sweated countries or sweated industries or might even subsidize the development of an infant industry so that its products could compete with products from abroad. Under existing conditions in the United States, however, there is no chance of a sound, bona fide tariff issue.

This is true even from the capitalist standpoint. Tariffs are not made by patriotic scientists, but by back-scratching privilege grabbers. Every congressman votes for hundreds of tariffs that are meaningless or iniquitous in his eyes, if he wants to get their sponsors to support the particular grab that his district wants; "his district"—well, hardly that; rather the profiteers of his district.

Thus while it may happen that a particular tariff schedule chances to be legitimate and perhaps does some momentary good to a particular group of workers, such a result can never be true of a tariff law as a whole, and at best it is more likely to be accidental than to be the intended result of patriotic planning.

It follows that Labor has little to gain by dabbling in capitalist tariffs. Particular groups of workers may share in a tariff grab, but if so their gain is pretty likely to come out of some other group of workers rather than out of a capitalist pocket. There is really no way of showing what the tariff is doing for American Labor.

Take the textile industry, "protected" for over a hundred years, but still a parasitic industry paying an aver-

BLASTS OLD PARTIES



JAMES H. MAURER

"Jim" Maurer, president of the Labor Publication Society (publishers of *Labor Age*), is the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party. In a recent speech he paid his compliments to the Republican and Democratic parties, as follows:

"The Republican party of the nation is definitely committed to the support of the employers as against the workingmen. The Democratic party and its madly ambitious candidate, in their desperate lust for power are outdoing the reactionary Republicans in truckling alliances with the most sinister elements in the nation."

age wage of perhaps \$18 a week. What is there to show that the tariff in this instance has been worth while to anybody? Who knows whether the employers have not lost the theoretical benefits of the tariff by going to sleep under its protection and ignoring the conditions of efficiency? If the original tariff had been scaled toward zero two or three generations ago, maybe the textile operators would have been spurred to improve their methods. Maybe they could still have paid \$18 a week to the workers.

So it seems that the tariff can not be an intelligible issue in an American political campaign. Neither can it be so divisive an issue as formerly. Many American industries are now in a position to beat the world without tariff protection, and it is not to be expected that the proprietors of these will be so much concerned about tariff as of old. On the other hand the South and the West are developing new industries that want protection, so that even the South no longer gives much support to free trade.

Now that the tariff is ceasing to be a vital issue in American politics is a poor time for Labor to be beguiled by it. It might be an interesting political stunt to declare for a tariff applied only to such industries as pay a standard union wage, but even that would be a round-about and dangerous way of dressing up Labor issues. The workers ought to frame their own issues and impose them on the politicians instead of accepting the warped proposals of capitalist spell-binders.

Pennsylvania's Labor Party

Indorsing Candidates of Old Parties Disastrous

By ISRAEL MUFSON

A STRANGER unused to the tortuous methods of practical politics and glancing at random at the proceedings of the last six or seven conventions of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor would immediately come to the conclusion that here was one State where labor believed in independent political action and had the courage to follow such belief through to its logical conclusion. For the minutes of these proceedings will show that the Federation actually endorsed the idea of a Labor Party and gave its moral support towards its organization. Truly, there IS a Labor Party in Pennsylvania. Nay, there are now two such parties, which makes the story more complicated and funnier, as we shall see. But whether the original Labor Party, endorsed and blessed by the State Federation, ever did function as an independent political unit or became merely a handy mechanism for practical politicians to use at convenient moments, is another matter.

There is this certainty, however, that outside of certain sections in the coal regions of the State, the Labor Party of Pennsylvania never did function, even remotely. Year after year the labor movements of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and of other large industrial centers either continued labor's accepted neutral political policy or endorsed candidates of one or the other old parties. Usually the endorsement went to the Republican Party. So that as far as the cities are concerned labor in Pennsylvania has shown no greater political group consciousness than it has shown anywhere else. Today, were the labor leaders affiliated with either camp sure of success, the Philadelphia labor movement would be asked to endorse Smith or Hoover. But because those favoring the Democrats on the one hand are certain of defeat in such a proposal, and on the other, because the Republican followers fear the acrimony and dissension any such attempt would bring about, both sides are satisfied to keep the labor movement neutral and permit each worker to go to the ballot box with a free conscience, as good citizens should.

Well Plowed Soil

Somewhere hidden in the hilly centers of industrial Pennsylvania must be groups of workers who have had their fill of Republican administrations; who have come full tilt against the Republican Party's ideas of justice and love for the "laboring masses." It is said that among such folk there is a real urge to maintain a political party which will express the aspirations of the workers and of none others. There, rumor goes, the soil for a Labor Party is well plowed and ready for sowing. But unfortunately the existing Labor Party does not seem to have conducted itself in such a manner as to be capable of utilizing the sentiments for independent political action which may be prevalent. For years the Labor Party was used to endorse this candidate and

that on the Republican or Democratic tickets. It even chose as candidates politicians who were elected officers of the State Republican administrations. And then, to crown its misdeeds, whether of design or muddleheadedness, it placed whatever machinery it possessed at the disposal of the Republican machine in Philadelphia to help elect Harry Mackey when he was campaigning for Mayor of Philadelphia last fall. No wonder that the Labor Party as it now stands cannot rally around it even the little sentiment that exists for independent working class politics.

But no matter how great or little the desire for a Labor Party may be up State, there is hardly any of it to be noticed within the confines of Philadelphia. Workers go about their business whooping it up for the Athletics to win the American League pennant and then drown their sorrows, or celebrate their joys, depending upon whether the A's lose or win, in the nearest alley-bar (closed until Monaghan or Mackey, so it is reported, become victorious in their battle to capture the governorship). The majority will vote for Hoover and the residue will vote for Smith. But for a Labor Party? Only the most hopeless optimist sees anything resembling even the thinnest nebulous of sentiment in that direction.

Recent Attempts

Late last winter, which would make it around April, 1928, a few idealists who were anxious to give the aching hearts of labor a chance to declare itself for independent political action, harangued the labor movement to rally around a gigantic conference to discuss plans for forming a Labor Party. A large hall with many lights was sequestered for that purpose and many letters were mailed keeping labor persistently awake to the momentous event about to occur. I think eleven persons, four or five of them delegates from unions, rushed to the meeting. The sponsors wouldn't be disheartened, however, and blamed the small attendance on the Jewish holidays. Now there is before me another notice, again calling labor to a gigantic conference. But there will be no Jewish holidays this time to place the blame for the indifferent attendance which is certain to materialize. At the present moment any fair observer will conclude that the sentiment for a Labor Party is so negligible as to be non-existent.

As is true of most progressive movements, a split in the Labor Party of Pennsylvania was inevitable. It came with all the fervor, distemper, tactical hopelessness and comedy de luxe which accompanied like splits in other labor organizations. Only in this instance the combating leadership is in the hands of Kutz and Cush, names similar enough to imply error in pronunciation rather than a difference of identity. But they are two persons, nevertheless, each leading his host to independ-

BRING SCHOOL TO WORKERS

Advocates Pennsylvania Labor Educational Director

L EONARD CRAIG is a Brookwooder who is doing a fine job in the development of the workers' education movement in Pennsylvania. As director of Workers' Education for the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, he has begun an active campaign for the organization of more colleges in the Keystone State.

He is hammering home the idea that "Workers' Education will train the workers to think fundamentally on their social and economic problems and how to function more effectively in the labor movement." And he is making headway. Last year two labor colleges were started in Shenandoah and Wilkes-Barre. Their success has inspired organizations from other cities to write to his Depart-

ment for information how to establish a labor college in their localities.

Brother Craig does not work under any hard and fast rules. The main thing is to get workers studying. Hence he announces that the method of organizing a labor college does not prevent any local union or group of workers from organizing a study class of their own. Many local unions set aside a part of their meetings for the discussion and study of important problems of their union and their industry, and they find it pays.

And Craig adds: "If the workers were unable to leave their work in order to attend school, it is up to the labor movement to send the school to them."

ent political action, if any. The story is this:

It is customary for the Pennsylvania Labor Party to meet one day in advance of the annual convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. Following this custom, the State Chairman, Charles Kutz, sent out a call for the Party to meet in Philadelphia on Monday, May 7, 1928. The day arriving, about 35 delegates handed in their credentials. But lo and behold! the State Chairman was nowhere to be found. Later it was learned that he was delayed at home on personal matters. This in itself would not have been such a great calamity had not a well organized left wing movement developed amongst the delegates. And as this left group was more interested in an independent political party than any of the other elements in the labor movement, it, of course, had a majority of votes at its disposal. With neatness and dispatch it began to function. It functioned so well that by the end of the day the Convention had the State Secretary, Charlie Oyler, running around in concentric circles. The day was not so warm but that one could navigate in perfect comfort, yet Oyler streamed with perspiration and his thinning hair stood at attention like so many soldiers at inspection. Early in the sessions Mr. Cush, not Kutz, was elected State Chairman. Thus he remained when the gavel fell in adjournment at eventide. In the interim the jubilant left wing delegates pushed over several vitriolic resolutions of condemnation which had as much to do with political business as flying fish have to do with the Los Angeles. It seems from what one can gather that no one was spared a damn.

When Mr. Kutz arrived on the scene that evening, the debacle that met his eyes was most disheartening—would have been to one less courageous. But in no time

the meeting was reconvened under his able generalship and after passing a motion to meet again during the week, adjourned. The Labor Party convention did meet again the following Thursday in the State Federation convention hall immediately after adjournment of that body. Mr. Kutz was in the chair. A motion was immediately offered that any delegate to the Federation convention should be declared *ipso facto* a delegate to the Labor Party convention. A few ineffective protests from the left wing and the motion prevailed. From then on it was only a short space of minutes before everything so vociferously voted for on Monday, May 7, was completely undone, even to the effacing of the last damn, and the Labor Party convention went on the even tenor of its ways until adjournment. Now the left wing with Mr. Cush at the head claims that everything done after Monday, May 7, was illegal and that he and not Mr. Kutz is the State Chairman. This is how there came to be two Labor Parties in Pennsylvania.

This story, while interesting in itself, was not here related for its interest alone. It has a direct bearing on the subject of what about a Labor Party in Pennsylvania. There simply were not enough labor people interested in the fate of the Labor Party to send delegates for its further activity. The fact that the left wing was able to capture it so easily is a definite barometer of the extent of the desire of the labor movement for a third party. There isn't. What the left wing got out of all its travail is a doubtful deed to a party that just has a chairman and secretary and no more. It also succeeded in muddying the waters to such an extent that for some time to come the issue will be not independent political action but Mr. Kutz or Mr. Cush, and no one cares about that.

"Camera!"

A Plea for Picturized Labor Publicity

By KARL PRETSHOLD

LABOR editors, trades union publicity agents, organizers and strike leaders need to develop what high powered advertising boys and sloganeers call "picture consciousness." Pick up the nearest labor paper or magazine and examine it,—this one for instance—and see if illustration is not its weakest point.

Most labor papers contain a few cartoons—probably reproduced from other sheets or syndicated—a cut or two of labor officials or union officers. The more progressive may have a few "general news" or feature cuts. Even in these "progressive" publications photos usually labelled "leg pix" can be found.

One can look in vain for labor news pictures. They simply are not there. While I am writing this the New Bedford strike is on, the Textile Workers Union convention has just closed, two girl strikers in Kenosha have been released from jail after a hunger strike, Illinois miners are balloting on a new wage scale agreement, the Clay Workers' union is holding a convention on a Mississippi steam boat and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are preparing to open their own factory in Milwaukee as an answer to the Adler lockout. Editors of live labor papers will wish in vain for pictures of any of these events.

Yet every one is susceptible to being pictured. Capitalist newspapers and picture syndicates ran cuts of the girl hunger strikers in Kenosha. Some of the other events may be "covered" by the cameras of "regular" papers. Yet labor news services and papers will neglect them. Why?

Cost, is the first answer any labor editor will make. "It costs money to make cuts," he will tell you. More, usually, than a struggling labor paper can afford.

They are difficult for the editor to get. Even when he has seen pictures he wanted in some other publication there is a letter to be written, an interval of waiting and the trouble of returning the cuts or writing a note

of thanks for the mats. Some of the smaller papers cannot use mats—they are so poorly equipped they must have cuts—or the editor thinks a cut necessary.

The Chinese are reputed to have a proverb that one picture is worth a thousand words. If you have had to do with the raising of funds for labor causes you will appreciate the truth of this wisecrack. Try your darnd-

est, use all your niftiest adjectives, sweat your brain and weep bitter salt tears, you cannot convey the image of a hungry child as well as even a poor snap shot can.

All propagandists but labor propagandists realize this. In addition, editors will publish a picture handed out by a press agent when they would not use a "news release." J. B. S. Hardman in "Labor Dynamics" points out that newspapers may rap a strike in its editorial columns and print pictures of pretty girls strikers on page one. Which conveys the idea to the public that they are not bombers.

No regular - honest - to - god "public relations counsellor" would permit his client to burst into the news minus the boom of flash guns and the click of camera shutters. Press agents to movie stars get the lovely lady to cross her legs and show an intriguing stretch of upper limb to the camera. They know a dull day will come and many an editor will slap the "leg pix" in the bull dog edition at least.

But even the tabloid papers picture exploitation of the Passaic strike and of the coal strike in the Pittsburgh district seems to have taught us no lesson. True the leaders of the Passaic strike in their relief appeals used pictures but they are not being used in New Bedford or Kenosha.

If a relief organization director, a strike leader, a union man or organization officer wants to use pictures as part of his publicity how can it be done? First, obviously, he must get the pictures. If a strike, or convention, or relief drive, parade or picnic is big enough to attract reporters from regular newspapers it is big enough to attract camera men.

"Pictures, more pictures," is the cry of this labor editor from Oklahoma. He not only makes this plea, but gives some valuable suggestions to labor editors and labor publicity men.

We endorse the idea. Labor papers with few exceptions need brightening up. The greatest need is for pictures on happenings and events in the labor movement.

For some time Labor Age's editorial board has considered increasing the amount spent for photo engravings or cuts, but this did not seem possible until recently. Just a week before Karl Pretshold's article was received, the Editorial Board met, and again the question of more pictures came up. When it was reported that the fine support in the way of new subscriptions that have come from all parts of the country now warrants an increase in the appropriation for cuts, the editorial board voted to double it. Labor Age, therefore, begins to bloom forth with more and larger illustrations, and every effort will be made to enhance its appearance in developing a better and brighter magazine.

We hope to have the cooperation of our readers in this aim. If you come across pictures or cartoons you would like to see reproduced send them to us. Thank you!

By helping camera men get their "pix" one can sometimes get copies of unused pictures. If that is not possible a camera man will almost certainly make extra exposures for a price—usually from \$1 to \$3 for the first print and a dollar or two for the plate or film. Prints from the film or plate can be gotten at the nearest drug store for less than a quarter each.

Editors Prefer Girls

Suggest to reporters that pictures might interest their editors. Give tips on possible subjects, the decision to parade despite police frowns, picket lines, pickets and other strikers arrested or likely to be, distribution of rations, but most lovely of all—to the editor and camera man—"girls". An editor will chase a camera man out to get a "girl pic" when he would turn up a bored nose at twenty men defying the entire state militia.

From the point of view of the publicity man—and anyone seeking to get his cause noticed is a publicity man—girls are "good hooley." They will intrigue the imagination of the public when nothing else would. Even a thoroughly class conscious and learned Marxian labor editor—if he has the instincts of a newspaper man—would rather run a picture of a girl striker (pretty, with legs, preferred) than of a down-trodden, work-worn, ready-for-the-industrial-dump male.

After girls, in point of picture news value, come kids. If you can't get girls lay in a large supply of kids. No strike relief organization director or publicity man who wants to use pictures should be without them. They will bring in the jack when even a bathing beauty wouldn't.

If your strike (or other event for which you seek publicity) is not big enough to attract reporters and camera men from regular newspaper but has an interest for the labor press take your own pictures or get someone to take them. It would have to be a pretty small strike that didn't have in it a young fellow or girl owning, and handy with, a camera. A tall stack of pictures can be taken, developed and printed for five or ten dollars. But see that they have real "news interest"; see that there is action in them.

Arrests, picketing, hovel homes—kids in the foreground—parades, picnics—if there are unusual features—strike, shop and organization committees are all good for labor papers. Such pictures to be turned into cuts must be clear in definition and printed on glossy paper at least three by five inches.

But a newspaper camera man—even if he isn't covering your strike and has to be hired—will probably prove more satisfactory if he does cost more. He can get where you "fotog" never could, in jail, in police court, in the struck factory. All pictures used by the Sacco Vanzetti Defense committee during the seven years of the Sacco Vanzetti case were secured from newspaper camera men as were most of those used by the Passaic strike and relief committees.

Commercial photographers have so many limitations that they are next to useless in the rapid fire action of a strike or lockout. For any event where definite ar-

rangements can be made in advance they are all right—conventions, parades without police interference, athletic events, etc.

Don't be timid about trying picturized publicity. Almost any happening worth recording in print is also worth a picture in both "regular" and labor papers. Publicity that would be heaved into the waste basket unaccompanied by pictures will get by if there is a snappy illustration.

The Full Fashioned Hosiery workers' union could get publicity for the union label if they had a group of shapely limbed union members exhibiting the union label *on the top* of silk stockings. If the label actually happens to be on the heel of the stockings the girls could be so posed as to exhibit stocking tops "or better."

(If you object to such exploitation you may as well conclude you can't reform the sex appeal practices of American journalism and drop picturized publicity. You'll get little publicity unless you meet the editor half way and give him what he wants in return for the space in his sheet *you* want.)

The Hosiery workers actually did use "leg pix" in a piece of union label boosting. But the picture was taken at a distance, didn't give enough detail to be worth anything except in labor papers. Otherwise they could have been put across with newspapers and picture syndicates.

When the King of Siam Speaks

Another good source of pictured publicity is "notable names." Were the King of Siam to speak to Local 55 of the Egg Examiners' union every editor in town would want a picture of president Whoozis of Local 55 introducing the King to his audience.

To have an appeal to newspapermen a photograph must picture the unusual or illustrate the news. If it does both it will almost certainly get "past the desk."

If publicity men, organizers and union officials remember the possibilities that lie in pictured publicity, "get the pix" taken and placed at the disposal of labor editors the editors are going to find ways of using them despite the cost. If a regular newspaper uses a picture you have given them or have arranged that they get the cut can usually be borrowed. Getting mats "rolled" costs comparatively little.

Don't be afraid to "bum" an editor for a mat or the loan of a cut. At worst you will only be refused. Unless the paper runs its own picture syndicate the loan will probably be made. If you have had dealings with the paper's camera man he can more easily get what you want.

Labor editors whose plants do not have casting boxes, making possible the use of mats, could often arrange with their local daily—possibly through the union stero-typer employed there—to get casts made for a deposit on the metal and a slight additional charge. Most labor magazines can afford and would be glad to use labor pictures—if they were available.

More labor pictures would help enliven the labor press; help get them.

Flashes from the Labor World

Fight for Mooney's Release Intensified

"I sentenced Mooney to death. Now I know that the wrong man was convicted and sentenced." In these clear, unmistakable words Judge Griffin told Governor Young of California that Tom Mooney is an innocent man. Nevertheless an innocent man is beginning the 13th year of a life term in desolate San Quentin. Every surviving jurymen has appealed for Mooney's pardon. District Attorney Brady, State Labor Secretary Scharrenberg, Editor Fremont Older have appealed. All to no effect. A new wave of moral revolution must sweep the world until all men and women who cherish decency and justice stand on one side, and Governor Young on the other. Perhaps then he will free Mooney and Billings.

* * *

Where is the commercial telegrapher's job going? Not even union officials know. Secretary Powers, reporting to the union's Chicago convention said: "Our standards of living are threatened by the public craze for machinery and the artificial forcing of machine telegraphy. We are told that it will be physically possible to flash entire telegrams by television in a fraction of a second."

In suburban New York a new electric power and light station capable of serving 300,000 homes is entirely automatic. Not a man works in this plant. Motors whirr and hum, contacts click off and on, lights glow in this eerie, manless building. Three miles away an electrician turns occasionally to observe blinking lights on a control switchboard. Once a week a mechanic unlocks the station's door, inspects the machinery, and in a few hours is gone again.

Twenty years ago 96 locomotive crews handled coal on the Clearfield division of the New York Central. Bigger locomotives cut the crew to 65. Now 35 great Mallets tug trains of 100 and more cars over the hump. Firemen of 20 years ago are still firemen today, despite seniority which would have advanced them to engineers.

* * *

Union printers, the chaps who set up LABOR AGE and nearly every

daily newspaper in America, feel pretty cocky when they look at their union membership figures, 75,738. That's the number of paid up union printers, the highest ever reported. Their wages average nearly \$50 a week, including small towns with big. The 44-hour is typical, although New York Czech printers work only 33 hours on the night shift. In Dallas union operators work 36 hours a week.

* * *

Southern unionists know the folly of color lines. At a North Carolina conference many labor leaders spoke out against the policy of pushing the black man down, only to have him undercut union conditions. Yes, said President Wilson of the North Carolina Federation, of course Negroes are holding down wages. But if we'll only pitch in and help them to organize, then we can all go ahead together.

* * *

College students are turning away from cheapjack cynicism and Mckenism. "What of it?", accompanied by a shrug of the shoulders, is no longer the campus reply to social and economic problems. So says Harry W. Laidler, who has been watching the parade of college classes into life for 20 years, in his capacity as head of the League for Industrial Democracy. Students are rolling up shirt sleeves and working in factory, mill and mine. A Dartmouth man found out things about labor while lifting 75-pound engine parts three times a minute, eight hours a day at Ford's, that will surprise his economic prof.

* * *

"I miss the out of doors: it's too hot in the cotton mills," said a veteran Carolina lumberjack, telling his troubles to Art Shields, southern investigator for Federated Press. For 20 years he hewed and sawed through hill timber. Now he's doing 61½ hours a week in the mill because the timber's gone. "I hate to see my two girls in the mill, but we can't support the family on my wages," he added. "It ain't right to make the girls work 60 hours.

Prostitution is demanded of girl waitresses sent out to many resort hotels in summer months. Others are robbed of their wages. Boys are frequently beaten up by their employers. Workers of both sexes are sent long distances at their own expense, often to find no job awaits them. These and other facts were told the New York industrial survey commission by social workers. They advocated stricter control of job sharks, especially since the U. S. supreme court, inveterate enemy of workers, has outlawed legislation controlling fees. Actors Equity union shows workers the way by doing its own licensing of sharks. Workers, strongly organized, don't need to beg the state for protecting laws.

* * *

The Independent Auto Workers Union, founded in 1893 as the Wagon Workers, will go back into the A. F. of L. if negotiations are successful. The union, which once had 20,000 auto workers in Detroit alone, has found organizing difficult in the past five years. At their recent New York convention, delegates reviewed wage cuts, speed-up and concentration in the industry, moved headquarters to New York and decided to intensify work among women and youth in the industry.

* * *

Die-hards. Barons. Tories. Are any of these words too hard to describe New Bedford's mill bosses? For six months they needlessly subjected their 27,000 workers to a harsh and bitter strike whose suffering will be reflected in weaker bodies of babies, starved children. Told by every textile authority that their trouble was in their policy, rather than the worker's, they insisted on a 10 per cent wage cut—a veritable pound of flesh. More clever, they would have accepted the speed-up specialization plan proposed as a basis of settlement. Then indirectly, gradually they could have gotten their 10 per cent cut from workers' wages.

This department was prepared by Harvey O'Connor, New York representative of the Federated Press.

Mitten-Mahon Agreement

A Rejoinder to J. M. Budish's Criticism

By W. JETT LAUCK

The symposium on the Mitten-Mahon Agreement which appeared in the September issue participated in by Mr. Lauck and Mr. Budish has created a great deal of interest and comment. Both writers now develop and amplify their stand on this question.

AS to the dangerous inertia and the drifting tendencies which have been observable in the organized labor movement for a number of years past, I find myself in complete accord with Mr. Budish's statements last month in his article entitled "At the Parting of the Ways." To my mind, his general analysis in this respect "is perfect" and his "moral most dearly true." The fundamental mistake, however, which, I think, Mr. Budish has made in interpreting the significance of the recent Mitten-Mahon Agreement has been in this specific instance to allow his strong convictions as to these tendencies in the labor movement to cloud his judgment, and unduly to influence his conclusions. The organized labor movement may truly be "at the cross-roads," but a careful analysis of the Mitten-Mahon arrangement indisputably shows that it is not a "danger sign." It does not point the way to destruction but, on the contrary, to real advancement and achievement in strict accordance with the traditional principles and standards of organized labor.

Organization and Solidarity

For several generations, labor has been fighting for the recognition of certain fundamental rights and industrial safeguards. Chief among these, has been the struggle for the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. The recognition of this right is an essential preliminary to progress. Without organization, recognition, and collective bargaining, labor, relatively speaking, can accomplish nothing. With these rights assured, all things are possible.

The right to organize and bargain collectively has always, therefore, been the most important plank in the labor platform. Industrial conflict has centered around this fundamental right. Labor has secured its recognition in the past principally by the exercise of economic strength. Employers have also as a rule in past years resisted with all their resources, the attempt of labor to secure recognition. They fought to the uttermost to prevent the downfall of the industrial autocracy which they had created. Unenlightened industrial management of the present day in a number of our basic industries is unfortunately pursuing the same policy.

But since the war a remarkable change has undoubtedly come over the world of industrial relations. Man-

agement, in the beginning of the new industrial revolution, discarded the old wage-theories, and has advocated, as a condition to prosperity, the most advanced principles of organized labor. The outstanding figures in the industrial world have also accepted the union, and collective bargaining on a union basis as permanent and inevitable. After the breakdown in 1920-1921, other powerful groups of industrialists, however, seized upon the depressed conditions which subsequently prevailed as a means of deflating labor in general and destroying the organized labor movement in particular. From this source have come the "employee representation" plans, and the "company unions," the menace of which Mr. Budish so effectively points out.

On the other hand, labor leaders have announced their desire to cooperate with management on the basis of accepted principles, and, thus, to substitute industrial peace and economic accomplishment for industrial conflict and economic loss. In doing this, however, labor leaders have assumed the existence of the union as the basis of cooperation. Without the recognition of the union, cooperation, of course, could not take place.

This situation brings up the question as to the real functions and aspirations of unionism. After the labor organization has been formed and recognized by the employer, what shall its attitude be? If industrial management says to labor leaders, "We believe in unionism; we accept and are willing to apply your theories of wage determination, and to meet your demand for payment on the basis of your productive efficiency; also we believe in industrial democracy, and that management and labor, after hiring capital, should cooperate in developing, for their mutual benefit, the maximum of industrial efficiency," shall organized labor refuse to cooperate with management on the basis of labor's own avowed principles and demands? Surely Mr. Budish would not have organized labor take such an attitude? Surely he would not consider that such an attitude was essential to labor solidarity and achievement? And yet, if he opposes the Mitten-Mahon Agreement, he places the organized labor movement in such an indefensible position.

The Mitten-Mahon Agreement and the Union

The Mitten-Mahon Agreement itself declares specifically that the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing is one which "cannot be abridged or denied." Moreover, it not only recognizes but stresses the union as the necessary organization for dealing with management. Membership dues and other assessments ordered by organized workers are to be checked off the pay-rolls by the operating companies and paid in a lump sum to the duly designated treasurer of the union. All dealings

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with management are to be conducted through the regularly elected representatives of the union. The union is supreme, in other words, so far as employees are concerned. Management is to enter into agreements with its officers, and collective bargaining and cooperative activities are to be carried on through union representatives. The union instead of being depreciated becomes the most important factor from the employee's standpoint. Through their loyalty to the union, the employees find a contact with the management, and, according to mutually agreed upon principles and standards, cooperate with management to accomplish maximum operating efficiency. The results of their joint productive gains are equally divided. The Mitten-Mahon Agreement not only will therefore enable the organized labor movement practically to apply its own principles. It strengthens the organized labor movement and stimulates its morale.

Mitten Plan Not Arbitrarily Imposed

The method of procedure provided in the Agreement makes the union and its members free agents in determining their course of procedure. If a locality where the Agreement is to be introduced is already organized, union members and their local representatives have an opportunity to scrutinize and consider the principles and methods of the Mitten-Mahon Agreement before they are accepted. If they are approved, representatives of the local union and management confer and embody these standards in a practical working agreement. The local union is a free agent. It is completely autonomous. The Mitten Plan is not imposed on it.

On the other hand, where the street railway workers in a community are unorganized, and the properties are to be operated by Mitten Management, representatives of the union are so advised. Without opposition from management, they have an opportunity to organize the workers, and, if the workers elect, to form a local union for the purpose of entering into an agreement with management. The contemplated procedure, therefore, not only provides for the recognition and strengthening of the union where it already exists, but for the extension of unionism to localities where labor has previously been unorganized.

Organized labor has formulated in principle a complete constructive program. During past years, in conferences and before arbitration boards, it has urged its recognition and its practical application, but with little success. Those who have followed or have been in touch with the national movements of the mineworkers, the steam transportation employees and the clothing workers, know this all too well. Only in sporadic instances, have labor's code of principles—its constructive policies—been sanctioned and given a practical application. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Nash and other plants, the B. & O. Plan and the Shop Crafts, and all other concrete applications, either in a complete or restricted way, might be counted on the fingers of one hand.

During the development of the new industrial revolution since 1923, labor's constructive principles as to wages, have been appropriated by industrial leaders, and labor leaders have called attention to this astounding

fact. The labor movement has been anxious to see these principles practically applied. No concrete method, however, has been evolved. There has been no agreed upon practical basis of procedure. Organized labor and industrial leadership have *theoretically* been in accord. *Practically*, they have developed no method of procedure by which the fruits of their constructive program might accrue to labor and to management, as well as to industry itself.

And herein lies the real significance of the Mitten-Mahon Agreement. During the years that organized labor was urging its program of industrial relations, wages, and industrial democracy, with but small practical success, Mitten Management in Philadelphia on a non-union basis was successfully working out labor's constructive principles in a practical way and even going beyond labor's constructive program. Concrete methods were, through experience, successfully developed for applying the same principles which organized labor had advocated, and which industrial management had claimed in conference before arbitration boards, or other agencies of adjustment of differences, were "academic," "visionary," or "impossible of practical application."

A Concrete, Constructive Method

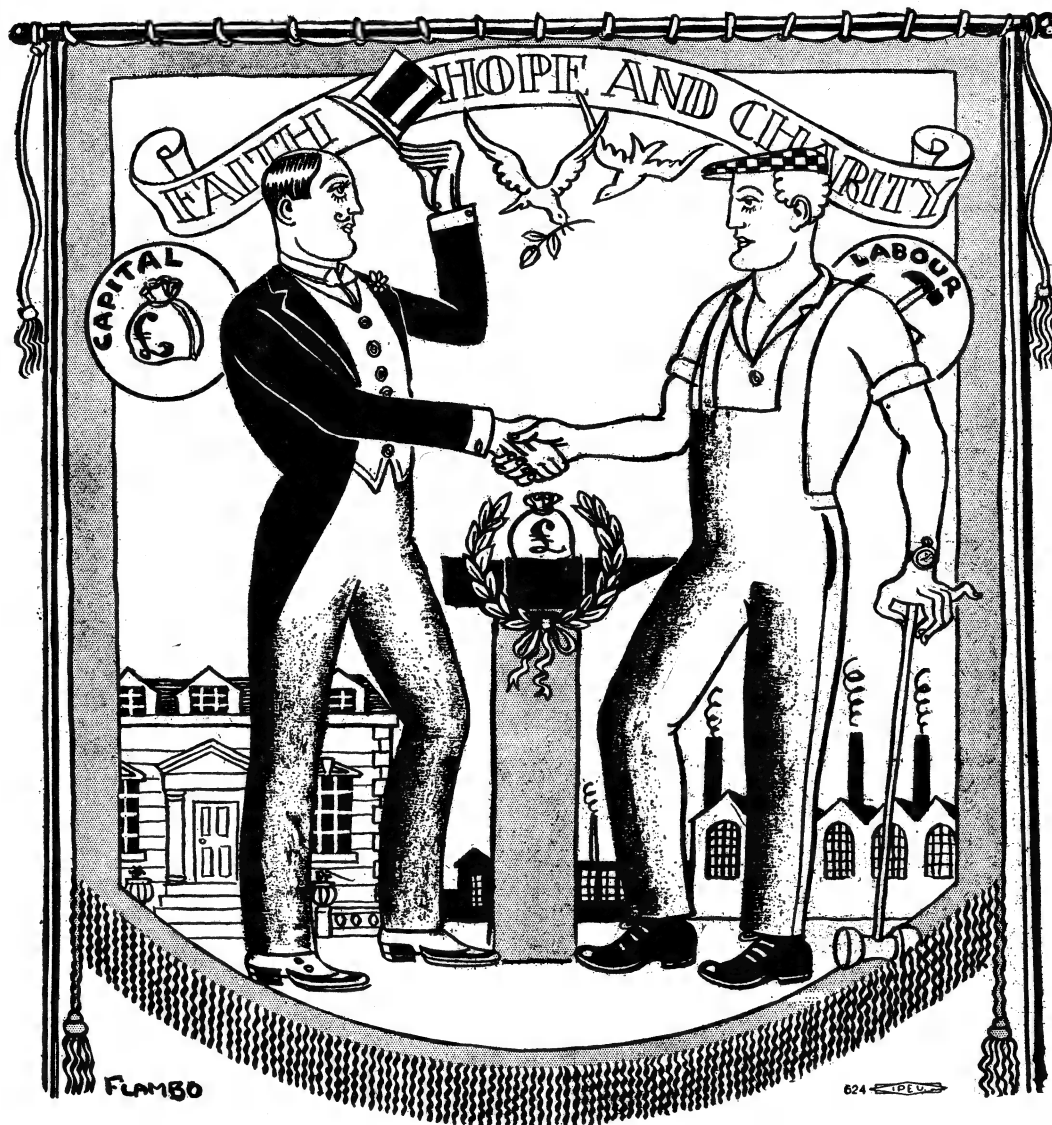
What non-union employees can do, unionized employees can do. This was the challenge made by Mr. Mahon and embodied in the Mitten-Mahon Agreement. There can be no doubt as to the soundness of this attitude. And simultaneously the Mitten Plan became a challenge to the whole industrial world, and an invaluable asset to the organized labor movement. Where before labor had no concrete, demonstrated, method for applying its constructive principles, it can now say to industrial management, "Here is a concrete method with seventeen years of successful experience to demonstrate its practicability. We propose through this method practically to apply the generally accepted principles of the new industrial revolution, and thus to give a concrete expression to the constructive program we have struggled for through many years. In doing so we shall not only add to our own economic well-being, and attain to the accepted standards of industrial democracy, but we shall also contribute to the sound and profitable investment of capital, and to the development of American industry to its maximum of productive service."

There is no answer which industrial management can make to this demand. The Mitten-Mahon Agreement carries with it the sanction of demonstrated, practical success.

If the organized labor movement should oppose the Mitten-Mahon Agreement, it would be equivalent to the repudiation of its own constructive program for which during many years, it has valiantly fought and suffered. It would also be equivalent to casting aside a concrete, demonstrated, method for successfully applying this constructive program.

No such contingency is, of course, conceivable. The Mitten-Mahon Agreement will undoubtedly constitute an epoch-making precedent in the advance of organized labor and in the movement for industrial democracy.

Robotizing the Labor Banner



An artist presents this design of that version of the old-fashioned labor banner which high-pressure publicity agents of Capital are trying to force upon labor by means of company-made schemes of "industrial democracy," "industrial peace" and "labor-capital cooperation." Emaciated and companyized Unions are to join the employers in repelling every militant struggle for a new social order and better life. They are to find their "Faith" and "Hope" in the bedtime stories of prosperity and of Charitable Capital tipping its stove-pipe to sissified Labor. This cartoon by Flambo in the London New Leader splendidly exposes the entire menace and disintegrating effect upon Labor of all those Company-made schemes. It visualizes the real meaning and significance of many of the developments touched upon in the articles on Hoover and the Mitten-Mahon agreement appearing in this issue.

A Suicidal Policy

Incompatible With Principles of Organized Labor

By J. M. BUDISH

WJETT LAUCK is fully in accord with my general analysis of the dangerous drifting tendencies which organized labor has been subject to during the last few years. But strange as it may seem, this agreement on the general analysis does not lead him to the same conclusions with regard to the specific case under consideration. Unfortunately the rejoinder is mainly a reiteration of the same general statements of the last month. The argument is largely based on the assumption that "since 1923 labor's construction principles as to wages have been appropriated by industrial leaders." This assumption is not supported by the actual developments.

Mr. Lauck admits that in a number of our basic industries capital is pursuing the same policy of fighting labor with all its resources. Keeping in mind the attack upon the miners and textile workers, and the attempts to reduce the wages of the workers in these and other industries, below the starvation level, it is surely impossible to speak of a change of heart upon the part of capital. The mere fact that from 1923 to 1927 the index of real wages increased only by four points (from 118 to 122), is sufficient evidence that labor is getting only as much in wages as it is able to secure through its own organized strength or as a result of favorable conditions in the labor market. This is in the very nature of things.

The underlying principle of labor is service, while the very foundation of modern capitalist business is profit. "The subordination of service to money making is not grounded in the mercenary motives of business men but is one of the necessary results of pecuniary organizations. . . . In business the useful goods produced by an enterprise are not the ends of endeavor, but the means towards earning profits. And the business economy ruthlessly enforces that subordination."* And the Mitten Management is no exception. Because of that inherent subordination of service to money making, it is true as Mr. Lauck suggests that without organization, recognition and collective bargaining labor can accomplish nothing.

Not only has labor in the past secured its recognition principally by the exercise of its own economic strength, but the recognition itself was the evidence of

that organized strength. Labor has put recognition in the forefront of its demands because it has considered recognition not merely as a courtesy, but mainly as an admission on the part of the manufacturers of its organized strength. Recognition spelt that the workers are sufficiently well organized to exercise control over the labor market and working conditions.

It is a purely hypothetical question to ask what should be the attitude of labor if industrial management should declare itself for real industrial democracy and should ask "that management and labor, *after hiring capital*, should cooperate for their mutual benefit." We must guard against the loose use of terms. We frequently hear about labor-capital cooperation. In that case the term capital is used to signify the capitalists. But now we are speaking of management and labor *hiring capital* and then cooperating. Presumably then the management is somewhat different from the capitalist. But in that case what is the management? If by that term we understand the engineers and the superintendents, the sales managers and salesmen, the office force, then we are really speaking only of non-manual labor. The labor movement never limited itself to manual workers only. Management in that sense should really be a part of the same industrial union.

Juggling With Terms

Naturally labor is and will always be ready to cooperate with itself. The most fundamental principle of the labor movement is solidarity and cooperation between all its sub-divisions, crafts and forms, whether they be manual or non-manual. If on the other hand, the word management is a mere substitute for the word capitalists, then of course it is absurd to speak of capital hiring capital. In any case there is not the slightest doubt in anybody's mind that if and when we have reached the stage when managerial and manual labor will be able to control industry and merely have to *hire* capital, that there will be no difficulty about the cooperation between these two integral parts of the working people. Unfortunately the situation now is such that it is labor that is hired, and not capital.

It is just because labor is the hired party that the drifting tendency to put less and less reliance on its own organized strength is so dangerous. The money making nature of our business economy makes it impossible for recognition secured not as a result of organized power but merely as a result of the enlightened attitude of the employer to have any real meaning. The verbal professions of "friendliness" to labor or of "cooperation" with labor (Remember Gary or Ford) are under such conditions nothing else for the employers than a more scientific method "in the procurement and maintenance of their *labor inventories*." They have for

*Business Cycles, by Prof. Wesley C. Mitchel, Director National Bureau of Economic Research.

The Report on behalf of the City of Philadelphia to the Public Service Commission sets forth "that service rendered riders in other cities compared favorably with that in Philadelphia and that the Company has made no showing that the service in Philadelphia is better than what could be considered normal in an up-to-date street railway of equal size and opportunities."

their real purpose to get the workers to produce the maximum of which they are capable.*

It is futile to suggest that "what non-union employees can do union employees can do." Certainly free labor is more productive than slave labor. Nevertheless it took a Civil War to abolish slavery. For free labor wants a greater share of the wealth it creates than slave labor. Union labor can do more than non-union labor, but union labor will not and cannot be converted into a labor inventory. Union labor cannot and will not have applied to itself the same methods, whether scientific or otherwise, as applied to the material inventory. Union labor wants protection against being relegated to the scrap heap at forty-five or fifty. Union labor will insist that every gain in mechanization and labor saving be accompanied with increasing raises in wages and reductions in the hours of labor. Above all, union labor will insist upon securing an ever greater measure of control of its own destinies. In short, there is one thing which is always done by non-union workers and which cannot and will not be done by union workers. Union labor will not let itself be lulled by the beguiling songs of "industrial democracy" and "cooperation" into being converted into Robots.

It is an untenable position to maintain at the same time that without organization nothing can be accomplished and that "the Mitten Management in Philadelphia on a non-union basis was successfully working out labor's constructive principles in a practical way and even going beyond labor's constructive program."

Greater Solidarity Essential

There is no evidence at all that the Mitten Management actually applied labor's constructive principles in practice. The fact that they refuse to supply information on wages and working conditions does not tend to confirm the impression they want to convey with regard to the superior conditions presumably enjoyed by their non-union employees. From the report submitted by the City of Philadelphia to the Public Service Commission it would appear that there was at least one "voluntary" reduction in wages under the Mitten Management. From the information we were able to obtain from other sources it would seem that the wages of the Mitten employees are by no means higher than the wages on similar railway lines elsewhere. But be that as it may, experiments in paternalistic welfare work and "profit-sharing" are not new and have never been helpful either for the progress of the labor movement or for the real improvement of the conditions of the workers. As Prof. W. J. Ashley put it, "Profit sharing and trade unionism rest on two mutually exclusive principles and involve two incompatible policies. Profit sharing assumes a community of interest between employer and employee in each particular business, trade unionism between all the workmen in the trade against all the employers in the trade."

Under modern conditions when trade demarcations are gradually disappearing, when the machine replaces the skilled mechanic, when the surplus labor in one trade

can easily be made available for any other trade, labor depends for its life and progress on even greater solidarity. Any plan based upon the development of a greater community of interest between the workers and the employer of a single business enterprise than between the workers of all business enterprises of the same industry undermines the very foundation of organized labor. To survive and progress in modern mechanized industry labor must develop its job-consciousness into class-consciousness. To let job-consciousness degenerate into plant-consciousness is nothing short of suicidal. But even in its immediate effects, the Mitten-Mahon agreement merely weakens the position of labor giving it nothing in exchange, not even verbal recognition.

Warning Against Drifting Downstream

There is no recognition of the union on the present properties of the Mitten Management. On the contrary the Union bound itself to refrain from conducting any organizing campaign there. As to the problematical future properties, Mr. Lauck informs us now that on these the agreement is not to be imposed arbitrarily. The local which may either exist or be organized there will be completely autonomous to accept or reject the agreement. But unless this future bargaining is no more than a mere formality, the Mitten-Mahon agreement is really entirely meaningless. In that case it merely amounts to a submissive acceptance by the Union of the dictation of the Mitten Management not to try to organize their present properties as long as they do not want to have them unionized. On the other hand, if the agreement has any meaning at all, if the provision for the approval of the local and for future bargaining is a mere formality, something of the nature which "collective bargaining" has in all company unions, then there is no escape from the conclusion that to the workers on these future unionized properties the union cannot but appear as a mere agency of the management.

The realistic labor-baiting employers see the point very clearly. The Open-shop Bulletin, published by the National Association of Manufacturers (No. 21) states: "The so-called Mitten-Mahon understanding does not seem greatly significant except . . . that the Mitten Management has achieved great publicity and a written guaranty from the Union that it will not push organization efforts on present Mitten properties."

The Mitten-Mahon agreement *would be* of very little significance if it were not for the drifting tendency to be less and less hopeful of what can be accomplished through the organized efforts of labor itself. It is this pessimistic outlook as to labor's ability to bring about the substantial unionization of the basic industries and secure recognition and collective bargaining by its own organized strength; it is this drifting downward towards further division of the labor movement not merely on craft lines but also on lines of individual business enterprise, that threatens its labor solidarity—the very basis of organized labor. It is a current leading towards the disintegration and disruption of the labor movement, and the Mitten-Mahon agreement is the alarm buoy warning all who would see and hear against the danger of being shattered on the rocks.

* Compare, *The Principles of Factory Organization and Management*, by Ralph Currier Davis, p. 366, etc.

Mother Throws Out the Baby

Inaction and Lack of Idealism Responsible

By A. J. MUSTE

THERE is a certain industry in this country in which the workers are very poorly organized. It is, alas, not alone in enjoying that distinction. The small percentage of those who were organized have been divided in a number of different unions. For some years, however, there has been a tendency for such of these unions as survived the depression to bury past differences and to get together. This movement for getting together has been promoted by the progressives and radicals in these unions, including the so-called left-wing elements.

In one particular instance such a movement was inaugurated some time ago largely on the initiative of the left-wing members or sympathizers and was at first opposed or at best given very luke-warm support by conservative and reactionary elements. By dint of much effort and almost limitless patience, however, progress was made and at last representatives of the two groups involved agreed upon a plan of union to submit to the rank and file for discussion and ratification. Many of the features of the plan embodied suggestions from the left. After long struggle their efforts at unification were to be awarded with success, and the independent union seemed on the point of entering the A. F. of L. organization in this particular jurisdiction, thus eliminating another vestige of dual unionism.

At that precise moment when those who had been hanging back had at last been converted to this wise and necessary step, then the "reactionaries", the "labor fakirs", the "stupids" had been whipped or coaxed into line, at that moment those who had started this movement, nursed it along, toiled for it, turned square around and let it be known that when the proposition was placed before the membership they would not support it, would probably indeed oppose it! They did in fact oppose the measure. The mother had carried the baby for months and finally with much pain brought it forth, and then she threw it out of the window to the pavement!

Left Wingers' New Tactics

What had happened? Well, "the Party" had decided upon a change of tactics. Good left wingers who had been pursuing a policy of "boring from within" the regular unions, who for several years had been denouncing the American radicals of other days for pursuing a policy of "dual unionism" and thus "cutting themselves off from the mass movement of the workers," must now themselves try to build dual unions.

Presumably at this late date, no reader of LABOR AGE will think that I am a thick and thin defender of everything the official labor movement does and stands for, nor that I eat a couple of Communists for breakfast every morning, as might seem to be the practice of some people who have gotten to the point where they can "see nothing but red." It is still my firmest con-

viction, as I have stated in LABOR AGE and on other occasions, that our greatest need in America is the organization of the masses of the workers in the basic industries, that the official movement seems somehow not to tackle the job effectively, that no one has any right to claim a monopoly of this job of organization and to say that others must keep their hands off no matter how miserably he may fail to handle the situation, that the job of organizing the workers and fighting the employer must be done, and the American workers for their own salvation will have to follow whoever gets down to business in this matter and gives a courageous and intelligent lead.

Such a face-about as I have described, however, this spectacle of a mother throwing her own new born baby out of the window, is enough to make even the gods weep and Henry Dubb ask questions.

Intelligent Flexibility

"Consistency is the vice of little minds," as has often been said. Individuals and groups need to be flexible, to be able to change their tactics in the midst of battle and change them very swiftly, as conditions change. Any infant in military lore knows that. But there is also such a thing as being able to face about too easily, a childish jumping from bit of excitement to that, an irresponsible attitude where workers and their interests are involved that marks one not as an astute tactician but as a comical weather-vane. One expects a leader to be flexible but also that there shall be something steady and grown-up about him.

It is indeed precisely on the basis of an intelligent flexibility in tactics that the face-about I spoke of must be justified. No one who knows anything about that situation can say that anything had happened in it by itself to justify any such change of front. There were the same arguments for unity as there had been a year before. Let us assume for the sake of argument that a dual union policy had suddenly become justifiable, necessary, elsewhere. If we can be flexible enough to pursue one tactic today and another tomorrow, why not flexible and realistic and responsible enough to pursue one tactic here and another in the next town?

We believe that it is necessary not only to stage strikes and demonstrations, but to organize industrial unions of the workers in the big industries—unions that can stand up for more than three months at a time, unions that function, unions that protect the worker on the job, that get him immediate advantages, that educate him in class-consciousness and that inspire him with the determination to control industry. It is not by perpetuating divisions among the workers, not by frivolous changes of front, not by marching workers up the hill and then right down again, that their confidence can be gained and such desperately needed mass unions built up.

FRIENDS RALLY TO BROOKWOOD

A. F. of L. Postpones Action

IT is gratifying to learn that President Green of the A. F. of L. has informed all concerned that no decisive action will be taken against Brookwood Labor College until the many protests from organizations and individuals and the appeal for a hearing have been placed before the members of the Executive Council of the Federation.

It is encouraging news because this case has developed into a test case as much for the A. F. of L. itself as for Brookwood. The Federation has always challenged the employers for fair play. It can do no less, especially in this case, which is of such vital importance for the whole workers' education movement in this country. There should be a full and impartial hearing. The charges and evidence on which they are based should be known. Only real issues and not hearsay nor petty grievances should be considered.

If mistakes have been made by Brookwood, and no institution is infallible, doubtless the staff and directors of Brookwood want to know of these things and correct them. On the other hand, dozens of the graduates and staff members of Brookwood have been faithfully serving the labor movement in all sections of our country. Brookwood is per-

haps the greatest achievement of the American workers' education movement. It would be an unforgiveable blunder and a source of irreparable loss to the American labor movement if anything were done to hamper in any degree Brookwood's work for a militant, united, intelligent labor movement.

Because we are so firmly convinced of this, we have rejoiced to see that many labor papers, the liberal journals, many prominent educators such as George A. Coe, A. D. Sheffield, Paul Douglas, John Fitch, Harry Elmer Barnes, N. S. B. Gras, and most important of all, scores of labor men and women including officers of the Massachusetts State Federation, the Rhode Island Federation, and the Denver Central Labor Union, the International Association of Machinists, the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, the United Textile Workers, the American Federation of Teachers, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, the Lithographers, and many others have joined in the protest to President Green and urged that Brookwood be given a fair hearing.

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If by any chance this is not admitted, if we do not want to build such unions, if we think it is impossible in America today, if we want the masses of the workers to be unorganized, if we want their unions smashed, because perchance these unions always get too conservative, or because if the workers are unorganized they may be more easily led in a crisis by a determined minority, then why not say that plainly? Why not tell the workers the straight truth? Of two liars which is to be preferred? If we must fight, why not fight on real issues?

If a change of front in the organization field such as we are discussing is necessary because the needs of "the Party" demand or seem to demand it, then the same difficulty emerges to which we have at other times called attention in *LABOR AGE*. Labor needs a political arm as well as an economic one. But in normal times the two can function effectively only if to a certain extent each is independent of the other. Tie two arms together and neither can hit out. In cities where the unions are tied up with and dominated by an old-party political machine there is not vital trade-unionism, not for long. But the same thing is bound to happen if a radical political machine attempts to dominate the unions and use them as mere tools and puppets.

More questions might be raised if space permitted. Let this suffice, however.

Still we face the same situation to which this magazine has so often called attention. Company unions, in-

junctions, yellow-dog contracts flourish. Mechanization of industry, concentration of control over all our resources goes on apace. Trade unionism barely holds its own. The big industries remain untouched by labor organization. The workers suffer, many of them, and repeatedly it is demonstrated that there is rebellion in their hearts. The official movement tends to make its peace with the dominant political and economic powers, and silences every murmur of opposition in its own ranks. At the other extreme there is often aggressiveness, courage, amazing vitality, but also childishness, lack of realism, cheap bickering, mere fury that creates endless turmoil, but not a labor movement making a real imprint on American life. In between are many afflicted with the malady of defeatism who still dream uneasily of the days when they really believed in America, a world freed from exploitation and in the control of the workers, but who are all the more backward now about taking any risks, who in their minds, if not with their mouths, meet every concrete suggestion for striking out a new path with the answer that nothing can be done now, not until the reds have been finally destroyed root and branch. The question remains whether it may not be that inaction and the abandonment of idealism encourage rather than abate "a red menace"? Whether action is not the only way to meet the situation? Whether action is not the only basis which can bring together those of all shades who really belong together? And if so, who are willing and able to act?

Shaw Speaks To Women*

Famous Playwright Aims at Men, Too

By FANNIA M. COHN

IN his *Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* Bernard Shaw tells us that the writing of this book was inspired by a woman who asked him for a letter on socialism. He thought of referring her to the hundreds of books which have been written on the subject, but realized that they were all written in the abstract, academic, dry language, for students in economics, politics, and sociology and that to those who were not specialists on the subjects, they were meaningless and uninteresting.

More so, all these books have been addressed to men. "You might read a score of them," says Shaw, "without even discovering that such a creature as woman has ever existed." This probably can be blamed on the prevailing impressions that women are inferior in intellect and, therefore, not interested in the most vital subject, economics. As a consequence, the writer of books on economics addresses himself to men and considers their interests only. Who then, can blame women for not being interested in books on economics as the subject is preached by the average author?

The correct title for the book should be "*To the Intelligent but Uninformed Woman*," as Mr. Shaw argues with her every subject in detail without leaving much to her imagination or making any reference to other writings on the same subject. But we will forgive him this as there are plenty of women and men who are too "busy" to give much thought to problems that should be of prime importance to the intelligent person.

We women, of course, will not take it personally because "she" is most of the time used by Mr. Shaw in the generic sense.

It might be that Shaw, in writing this book, meant to give his readers a thorough grasp of modern economics without the assistance of a teacher; again his appeal to women is probably based on the assumption that men, being responsible for the muddle in which our economic system finds itself, are not the ones to correct it; that women, having the advantage of not being directly responsible for our social evils consequently will be more susceptible to criticism of it. It will not hurt their vanity to have the man-made world so brilliantly denounced by Shaw, the most popular and gifted dramatist of our time.

One who seeks in this book a program for solving our present economic evils, will probably be disappointed. But it is quite different if we look upon it as a text on economics.

Because inequality of income has divided society into social classes which inevitably fight for larger shares in our social production. Shaw thinks that the very existence of these classes, poisons every phase of the life of

the nation. It undermines personal happiness, because class differences restrict choice of husbands and wives, and the result is unhappy marriages.

Class difference caused by unequal income means that nine out of every ten children are denied an opportunity to develop their brains and their abilities to serve the community to the fullest extent, and its economic results prevent us from producing more than a fraction of the wealth we could produce because the mass of the people is deprived of the personal power to obtain things that they can collectively produce and that would make their lives more comfortable.

Measuring Service

Shaw insists that in modern times, with the complex machinery and the interdependence of the productive basis of industry, we cannot say how much any one man has produced, we cannot assess merit. We cannot on any basis, except on the humiliating and shameful principle of supply and demand, measure the services of the judge against the dustman, or of the business promotor against that of the scrubwoman who keeps his office in order.

Shaw's method of curing the evil is extremely Fabian. He is against revolution. He is deadly set against any sort of confiscation of property except that which is confiscated by taxation. He observes that socialism can come slowly, by the constant development of parliamentary power of labor, and by strictly accepted legal means unless the capitalists appeal to violence in defense of their wealth.

Shaw's discussion of banking might have been written by J. Pierpont Morgan. But he maintains that the main wealth produced by society is perishable; it must be distributed within a limited time, otherwise it spoils. Society does not live on its bank notes, railroad stocks and bonds. It must live on its current supply of grains, fruits and vegetables.

What we call saving is economizing in consumption which permits energy and labor to be applied for production for future use. But in a society based on inequality of income, savings are invested in those industries that yield the most profit to the owning class. Shaw points out the public conveniences which are used by all, are conducted on a communistic basis, as, for instance, public water works, state highways, public schools, fire and street cleaning and health departments. Communism, according to Shaw, could only be limited to those services that are used by everyone. But those articles the usefulness of which depends on individual taste, as for instance, gingersnaps or walking canes, are excluded. Shaw is still the Britisher—although of Irish birth. He believes in freedom of the individual to regulate his own consumption save that he must work to consume. Therefore, one must face the problem of distributing income rather than of products.

* The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism, Bernard Shaw. N. Y., Brentano, 1928. 410 pp. \$4.

Shaw stresses here his plan of raising the standard of living of the masses that have had to be contented so far with a pittance, spelling undernourishment not only for men and women, but also for children.

There are two ways, according to Shaw, to equalize income:

1. To nationalize the compensation, land, railroads, banks, mines, and other important utilities.

2. To do away with the capitalistic class through increased income and inheritance taxes. To attain this end, the capitalists should be compensated for their nationalized property without disturbing the present constitutional form of government. But Shaw believes that ultimately the capitalist class should be expropriated and put to work as effectively as through the most extreme revolutionary methods. Shaw believes that through parliamentary methods alone, the transformation can be achieved.

Shaw's plan is that the equalization of income should be brought about gradually. This is the old Fabian theory. Once we all agree that the biological needs of man are the same, irrespective of intelligence or social station, that we all require a certain amount of air, food, sleep, rest, heat, clothing, sunlight, then there can be no thought of saving these fundamental needs.

Shaw's philosophy in this respect is not entirely new because similar to his equalization of income is Sidney Webb's National Minimum which means a standard of living established by legislation below which no person is permitted to go.

A Socialist Text Book

In the *Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, Shaw has written a textbook on socialism that will be outstanding for some time to come. It is not a cut and dry argument for socialism; but he discusses with his intelligent woman, everything that constitutes the life of a civilized nation, politics, religion, medicine, law, education, taxation, Russia, vaccination, birth control, League of Nations, prohibition, prostitution, dictators, eugenics, democracy, parents and children, and internationalism.

Science, he tells us, if developed freely will enable people to enjoy life to the fullest extent. Working hours will be reduced to the minimum so as to make the machine our servant rather than our master, as it is now.

Of course, any one may question whether Shaw does not emphasize too much the importance of the future state and his willingness to clothe it with super-power. Shaw's book is human and simple, in spite of its detached air. He does not refrain from calling things by their real name; he does not attempt to cover them up with such high terms as "theory of rent" or "supply and demand."

Nevertheless, even Shaw cannot escape discussing woman's problem from the accepted masculine point of view. For instance, he repeats the old worn-out story that the Woman's Property Act, as enacted in Great Britain was in favor of women to men's detriment, whereas this legislation was enacted as a protection for tradesmen, who would suffer commercially if dishonest

husbands who controlled the family purse would let their wives order merchandise and then refuse to pay the bill on the basis that they were unaware of the purchases. This law holds the husband responsible for the goods ordered by his wife whether he knows about it or not. Of course, it was to be expected that there would be some abuse of it.

But, then, errors in such a book are not of prime importance, even when the author says in one place that the early British mill owners did not dare to pay better wages for fear that it would ultimately increase their cost and prices. And in another place, he says that high wages would decrease cost and prices.

Exploiting Women Workers

In discussing the Law of Wages for women, Mr. Shaw points out that the match manufacturers made large fortunes out of the five-shilling girl whose wages was hardly enough to support a prize cat. In spite of that the girl was "plump and jolly." This, according to Mr. Shaw, was possibly because the girl was supported by her father to the extent of two-thirds of her needs. "If the father worked in a brewery," says Shaw, "the match manufacturer was getting three-fourths of his labor at the expense of the brewer. In this way one trade lives by sweating another trade." As a matter of fact, the match manufacturer amassed his millions at the expense of the girl's health, happiness and leisure, because the father who sent his daughters to work in a match factory was surely not amongst the well-paid workers who were able to subsidize their daughters.

It seems that Shaw accepts the argument advanced by employers for paying low wages, that since women are employed in industry temporarily—until they are married—the employer must compensate himself for the time he wastes teaching them the trade by paying them low wages.

The fact is that women, most of the time, do the simplest work in industry, processes which they can learn in a few days. Therefore, they are easily replaced, as is shown during strikes. The reason for lower wages are much deeper than that. It is the masculine traditional protest against women in industry, the belief still prevailing that women's place is at home. Therefore, she is not to earn a living but merely some pin-money.

But fortunately, this condition is changing gradually as more and more women are clamoring for equal pay and equal work. They realize that there can be no thought of women's social and political equality unless they attain economic independence.

The book, although in many respects not up to date from the standpoint of the industrial engineer, will be for a long time the outstanding text on economics that will take its place among the recognized classics. The strength of the book is also its weakness. The discourse method neutralizes the agitational effect. But this and the dispassionate temper of the author, are also its merits. It impresses the reader with its veracity. Every subject is discussed fully, and some times too much so. It becomes so simple and comprehensive and appeals to the mind.

I hope that many workers will read it. Mr. Shaw's arguments do not concern Great Britain alone; America can as well be included.

Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

THE CALL OF THE UNORGANIZED

Hushed by Fear, It Can Be Made to Thunder

A WELL-KNOWN natural law, we believe, runs something like this: If you want to get anywhere, you must begin to move.

We submit that that is a worthy motto for those who seem to be committed to the unorganizability of the unorganized.

There is no industrial community in this Land of the Free in which the unorganized do not wish the benefits of unionism. Some of them have surrendered to a craven fear of their employers, it is true; some have the slave viewpoint that it is better to starve slowly and be sure that the process is gradual than to starve quickly in the gamble of a strike or lockout. But, beneath all this, there really lies the fear that Unionism today cannot triumph in its battle with Greed.

We need scarcely pause to point out the menace of such a frame of mind. We need not dwell on the \$13.29 per week paid by Andrew Mellon's aluminum trust to women workers as a challenge to those who still believe in miracles. We can sum up the whole picture of present-day America in stating that the economic power of the country is passing more and more into the hands of the powerful few. The recent reports of the United States Chamber of Commerce and of that employers' agency, the National Industrial Conference Board, inform us of this state of affairs in cold figures. We have an Industrial Feudalism looming over us, that should bring the joy of big battle into the heart of any democratic crusader.

It is here that the business of getting on the

move suggests itself. Business unionism as such cannot arouse the great masses of the unorganized to action and revolt. It is the call of a great crusade that lies ahead for American workingmen of courage, vision and sane fanaticism.

It is a crusade that must be fought out in "the American language" and with an understanding of American conditions. As yet, the little army of those who can carry on this sort of battle has scarcely shown itself. Scattered over the country, it awaits regimentation for the onslaught on the basic industries—those great baronies of Evil that must still be captured.

It is not a paralyzing fear of hobgoblins and evil spirits in the form of alleged "reds" that will cause this army to arise for action. It is not the importation of doctrinized radical Jabberwocky, either, that will bring the gospel of revolt effectively to the unorganized thousands in autos, textiles and coal. It is a pragmatic middle-minded group than can go out and fight in the hand-to-hand battle of the workers in terms of American freedom, re-applied to modern conditions, that will cause the miracle of widespread organization to come to pass. It is a group, devoted to unity and to nothing else, looking forward to workers' control of industry and yet working in the field of actual trench warfare, patiently and persistently—that will give America a revived and forward-marching labor movement.

The call of the unorganized, hushed by fear, must be made to thunder. We ask for volunteers in the gay and daring campaign that lies ahead.

ENTHUSIASM IS CONTAGIOUS

WISCONSIN gives us lessons in enthusiasm. Kenosha's brilliant hosiery fight is Point No. 1. Out of it has grown such a union crusade, that its proportions in the community cannot yet be fully measured. The milk drivers have won a 100 per cent victory without a battle. The mere threat of a strike has given them a closed union shop, \$9 to \$12 extra wages per week, and much improved conditions. Unorganized before the Kenosha hosiery workers were locked out, they have profited by the big battle in their community.

The bakery drivers and automobile mechanics are fusing in local unions. So with the mailmen. So with the retail clerks. And so on, indefinitely. The Machinists local has grown by leaps and bounds. Unionism is no longer spoken of with baited breath in the Nash Automobile Co.

For the first time in many years the Kenosha central body held a Labor Day parade, thousands strong. The Labor Day celebration was no one day affair, but ran for three days—Saturday, Sunday afternoon, and Monday. Union label goods appear in every store. Often this thing has happened in other strikes, but in this case it has a peculiar quality of systematic enthusiasm about it that prophecies permanency.

Enthusiasm and skill in striking have produced in the workers a sense of power. That is the thing that is needed to bring them to the front in unionization. No apologies before High Moguls are then needed, for unionism to make progress. The workers do it themselves, and the High Moguls have to like it.

In the Adler strike in Milwaukee, we see power evidenced in a different way. The strikers are actually going into the clothing business. The firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx has contracted to take over all the product of this striker-controlled firm. It will invade the Adler market, and from two sides the company will be beset by difficulties. Kenosha has given faith to the Adler strikers, and they in turn have electrified Kenosha.

Plank 1 in the union organization program should be: A spirit of Faith in the workers' cause will fire the masses. Determination, drive, daring—offspring of Faith—will produce that enthusiasm in a skeptical age that will bring Unionism to the fore again, and keep it there.

NORTH CAROLINA SPEAKS UP

With a New Organization Idea

BUT—Faith without works has been said to be dead. Even so is it in our present contest against Industrial Feudalism. We cannot make headway on Faith alone. We must get down to brass tacks.

Each situation requires a flexibility of mind that can meet any obstacle or emergency. North Carolina has something to say on that subject. The South has been thought of as the Great American Desert of organization hopes. The skeleton bones of union organizers are pictured as strewn the Southern fields and factory sections.

The Southern union men and women are beginning

to resent this implication. They realize the difficulties in the way. But they contend that there is a real call for union activity on a big scale in the South. They have gone out to do some of it themselves.

The Piedmont Organizing Council is the fruit of this determination. Springing from 33 delegates last December, it now numbers 500 representatives from all crafts, meeting once a month to consider the problems of organization. On September 27th, a novel Rank and File meeting of this Council will be held in the capital city—Raleigh. Only members of the rank and file will have the floor on this occasion, to express their views of the practical problems ahead of the organization.

This Council covers—as its name indicates—the Piedmont section of the State. Tennessee and Virginia are now thinking of establishing similar groups in various parts of their commonwealths, according to natural geographical lines. The North Carolina State Federation of Labor is enthusiastically for the idea, and the 2nd Vice-President of that body is chairman of the Piedmont Council.

When the Council meets, the day is one of real celebration. Musical numbers—vocal solos, community singing, instrumental selections, etc.—feature the program. The workers have their day, in other words, once a month, and there plan their work for the coming 30 days. Voluntary city central organizing committees carry on the details back in the various communities, working with and under the central bodies. Twenty to forty members serve on these local committees, getting down to brass tacks on local city organization conferences. In these conferences, the community is studied, the conditions analyzed and the possibility of organization in this industry and that thoroughly discussed. The idea is, of course, to provide a practical course in organizing the unorganized—out of which fruits will grow.

The North Carolina idea owes its origin in large part to Alfred Hoffman, representative of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. It looks like the beginning of something real in organization endeavor, that should be studied by other states.

One thing is certain. Plank No. 2 in union organization work should be: We cannot close our eyes or ears to new ideas. We must be as flexible and resourceful as the employers. If we follow this plank, there will be much real organizing done than the present moment records.

Shiftiness is as valuable in a fight as brute strength.

DENIM AND DAMNATION

NORTH CAROLINA needs organization, God knows. Every city stands out as a challenge. Greensboro may be quoted as one.

Esther Lowell has written an account recently of "welfare" conditions in that capital of Denim. The Cones are the "welfare" in the case. They are the largest makers of denim goods in the world. Prosperity is written all over the Cones. Their palatial homes tower like castles over the North Carolina city.

"Welfare" was started by them 30 years ago. Mill villages were opened. Company stores were established, and a real live paid "welfare" worker was installed. She

LABOR AGE

is still on the job, establishing Cone schools, stores, Y. M. C. A.'s, camps and dairies. Except for coal, however, the mill folks find company "welfare" prices too high to fool with. The meetings arranged for social purposes are poorly attended. The \$2 per day wages are too heavy a burden for the "welfarers" to make headway against. Those \$2 a day wages are the share which the denim workers get for making the Cones prosperous and happy and self-contented.

\$2 a day is only part of it, however. There is short time, to boot. Boys and girls over 14, under command of the Cones, must leave the villages, if they refuse to work in the mills or the company stores. That keeps an eternal over-labor supply, on which the Cones wax fat—playing one worker off against another.

If there was ever a vision of Hell, it exists in the three villages of Conedom—named Proximity, White Oak and Revolution. How they ever let that last name slip in, the Lord only knoweth. Denim and Damnation seem to march hand in hand.

WANTED: A LABOR PHILOSOPHY

IF our blood boils at the thought of conditions in the South, it can keep right on boiling in any survey of these United States.

Economically the workers may not be so badly off as in the Southern textile centers. But spiritually, they have been enslaved. "The smile of the Boss" is held up in company organ after company organ as the true reward of the worker. If that makes any healthy man sick at his stomach, it should do more. It should make us all get busy in the task of changing the viewpoint of the enslaved.

To do that, we must have a freeman's viewpoint of our own. The new era calls for organizers with a wide outlook and an idealistic conception of the workers' future. The movement must be refreshed with the confirmed belief that the workers will march on and on; until real (and not fake) Industrial Democracy is secured. Just as the king and the slave-owner and the business man and the manufacturer have marched across the stage of history, so will the worker walk. And his great role still lies in the future.

It is that sort of a belief that will smash "yellow dogery", destroy injunctions, laugh at defeat. It will know that even in defeat, Labor is triumphant. Because every battle fought out bravely and with cunning, even though brute strength wins for the time, plants the seeds for victory in the days to come. The man or woman who will come to the fight with that fresh spirit must have faith in eventful workers' control of all things industrial and political.

In a word, theirs must be the philosophy that sees in the workers' struggle for more power and freedom merely a continuation of the battle for the same rights by other groups all down through history. In our own country, the Labor struggle is only the inevitable supplement to the winning of political freedom in 1776 and the abolition of black-slavery.

He who sees the full vision of the future is always not merely a prophet of Things to Come but a Doer of Deeds that make them occur.

L. F. B.

We regret that because of lack of space we have been compelled to omit from this issue an interesting article by Dr. Herman Frank, as well as the seventh installment of our regular feature on Research conducted by Louis Stanley.

They will appear in the November issue.

DISCRIMINATION DOOMED

SETTING back the hands of the clock is a thankless job as it is doomed to failure. Some friend should tell it to the Long Island Railroad officials who have made a temporary decision to discharge married women employees. Such a decision, if based on the assumption that "women's place is in the home" is a cry in the wilderness. This slogan is used by fewer and fewer men because they probably realize that women have come into mill, factory, and office to stay. Women's place in our social, political and economic life is disputed by very few. Women are insisting that their work be considered on individual merit, upon the same freedom to arrange their personal lives as men. As long as married women live up to the standard required from other workers, they should be employed and advanced without discrimination. The Long Island's decision seems to be inspired by the Clerks Association of that Company. Men who have to support families resent the competition of married women who, they think, can afford to work for less.

If married women underbid men, then men's protest is valid, but their remedy is wrong. What unmarried women and men who depend for their livelihood upon their earnings should do in such a case, is to form a strong union, and have all the workers employed on the road, men and women, married or unmarried, admitted without discrimination.

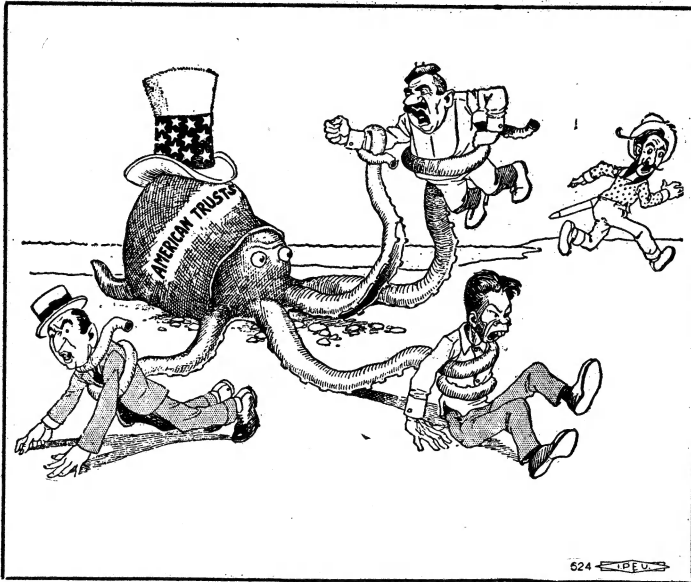
Unfortunately, the principle of unemployment blinds people to its real causes and they are willing to resort to reactionary methods in an attempt to solve it. But the wheel of progress cannot be turned back. We must employ modern methods in solving the problems that are created by our modern industrial conditions. Especially are men blinded when women are involved and the old prejudices and taboos come to the front.

Even school teachers have sinned in this respect. They, too, objected to the engagement of married women by the Board of Education; but it seems that lately the protest on the part of teachers against married women is giving place to their insistence to the Board of Education that married women have just as much right to earn a living and to make their contribution to our social and economic progress as married men or single women.

If our national economy were more sanely conducted, then the contribution which married women are eager to make to our national wealth, whether economic or intellectual, would be considered a blessing and not, as many want to interpret it, a curse.

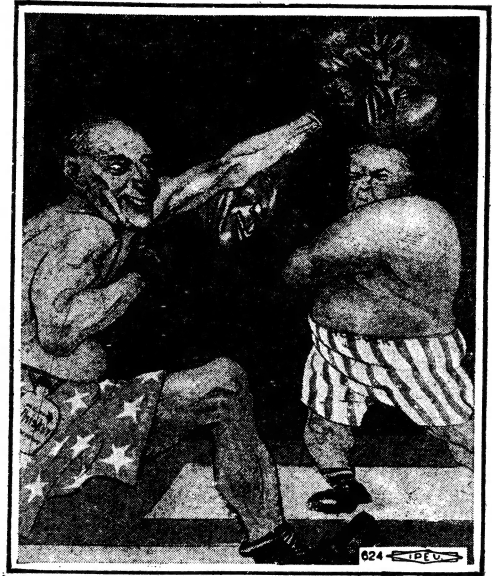
F. M. C.

In Other Lands



Our Latin American neighbors through their leading papers are not fooled by the eloquent phrases and flowery language of the Republican and Democratic speakers and writers. They assert in cartoons and in leading editorials that no matter what party or candidate loses in the U. S. presidential race the trusts and monopolies will be victorious. Which is another way of saying that big business and high finance own and control the two major parties and their candidates.

Shadow boxing is an ancient but little known art. As long as it was not used in the mechanics of the politician's bag of tricks no one bothered, as it did little harm and



gave those who looked on plenty of amusement. In our present presidential campaign, despite the charges of "whispering" and "bigotry" made by Candidate Smith and his associates, and other appearances of sincere and vigorous fighting, the campaign between Hoover and Smith is largely one of shadow boxing, which takes us back to some of the Shadow Lawn speeches of Woodrow Wilson. Questions of poverty, unemployment and how to solve problems growing out of the inequalities of the distribution of the wealth the workers have created in this, the richest country in the world, are sidetracked and clouds of non-essentials are raised to suit the advocates of beer, booze and boobocracy.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS WEATHER STORM

Germany's economic position is better than Britain's but her financial position from the international viewpoint is not so rosy owing to the indemnity and reparation money that is being collected by the other nations. The government appears to be secure and the great agitation stirred up by the Communists over the building of a warship has died down. The threatened counter revolution by the Junkers and reactionists has not materialized. The Socialists have become firmly entrenched and will continue in office for more than a year without their position being seriously challenged. The trade unions report a healthy growth and are sound financially.

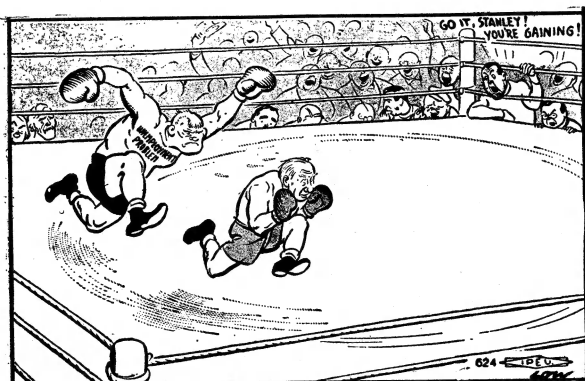
Hungary's imports are greater than its exports and though it reports a good harvest is not in a healthy economic state. Politically it is the cause of all the reactionary troubles in Central and Eastern Europe and with Mussolini the cause of much disturbance and irritation in the South-East. There is little free discussion and the trade unions and socialists are hampered by the ruling class which has retained all the stupidity of the Hapsburgs and none of their foresight and wisdom in handling minorities.

The movement for unification of Austria and Germany has gained considerable ground and has the support of the workers. Paris and London are using the Versailles treaty to block the natural amalgamation of the two Germanic countries into one economic and political unit or entity.

The naval pact between France and Britain, while about the rawest thing imaginable in view of the recent World War history and one of the worst pieces of diplomatic jugglery ever concocted, has accomplished one excellent object in that it burst the Arms Pact Bubble and exposed the fraudulent claims and peace bunk of the international diplomats led by Chamberlain and Briand.

The United States that was to be bunkoed is made alert, and it appears now that real disarmament may get a fair chance. This means another conference, but it will be one with all cards on the table with the face side up. Militarism and navalism got their severest blow and that, too, in the house of their friends, France and Britain.

Genuine pacifism has gained and international good will was given its best boost. A vote of thanks is due to Chamberlain for the deal he pulled off with Briand.



The Evening Standard (London)
Baldwin is on the run.

BRITISH LABOR DENOUNCES NAVAL PACT

By a combination of circumstances and brilliant strategy the British Labor party is able to take the lead in the political discussion. Through its chairman and chief spokesman, Ramsay MacDonald, the party turned the tables on the Liberals almost pushing Lloyd George and his followers off the map and flung down the gage of battle to Premier Baldwin and the Tories.

A general election can not be put off much longer than six or eight months. When it does come about the internal economic policy and the foreign affairs of Britain as handled by Chamberlain and Baldwin will be put to the voters for ratification or rejection.

Owing to the disclosures concerning the naval pact with France and the attempt to outmanoeuvre the United States and to the fact that the pact has a dangerous resemblance to the understanding between France and Britain that led to the World War, the voters are in an angry mood and MacDonald has taken advantage of it and is ringing the changes right and left all over the country. As MacDonald is one of the best informed men on foreign affairs it was a foregone conclusion that the Labor Party conference at Birmingham would endorse his views and condemn Chamberlain, Baldwin et al. in a resolution that did not mince matters.

As the Tory government has not made the slightest dent in the unemployed problem and has proposed no remedy for the evil other than the ancient one of emigration, which was tried with dubious success during the 1847 famine in Ireland and Scotland, the internal economic situation is being brought to the forefront by the Labor Party with telling results. Unless the Liberals vote in wholesale fashion with the Tories a victory for the Labor Party is assured the next general election.

Except the naval pact all important matters submitted to the Labor party conference were practically the same as those submitted a month ago to the Trade Union Congress. The Mond rationalization deal could not receive the same attention as it was a trade union matter and already consummated.

The Communists sought admission to the Labor Party as a group but all they got for their pains was a tongue lashing and a drubbing. Their application for entry was overwhelmingly rejected.

Nearly all the radical and labor papers condemn the

emigration plan of the government as an unemployed measure. They state the remedy works hardship and is in the long run worse than the disease it was to eliminate.

At the Swansea Trade Union Congress the Mond rationalization plan was approved by a majority of the delegates. A strong minority led by A. J. Cook, the leader of the coal miners, opposed the endorsement. The discussion revealed a certain lack of militancy among the old time delegates. Their chief excuse for approving the Mond plan as espoused by Turner, Thomas, Citrine and others was that it was better to be in on the scheme than to have it put into operation without their being consulted or their having a chance to discuss the merits of the scheme. This sounded too much like a confession of ineptitude and weakness and was not accepted by the militants.

J. H. Thomas who headed the group of railway union delegates, fought hard for the Mond plan and tried to justify the 2½ per cent reduction in wages. He was prepared to go a step or two further than the congress.

Mussolini's puppet King Ogpu of Albania begins his reign in characteristic fashion. He carried out a series of wholesale arrests and over a dozen executions to squelch all opposition to his reactionary moves.

United States has recognized the new Republic of China. It was the best day's work the U. S. Department of State accomplished since Woodrow Wilson passed away.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.



De Groene Amsterdammer (Amsterdam)

This Dutch cartoonist sees an application of the Kellogg-Briand treaty. Says the poison-gas maker, "I must get busy; this is a war of defense."

DEMAND BREAD WITH THIS INTERNATIONAL UNION LABEL:



This Will Help the Bakers



"Say It With Books"



LENIN, THE STRATEGIST

Nicola
Lenin,
Bolshevik
Leader



Disliked
Mere
Phrase
Makers

Lenin, by Valerin Marcu, Macmillan Company, \$5.00.

ONCE in a while a book appears that is so brilliantly written and at the same time casts so much light upon an important subject as to be indispensable. This biography of Lenin is undoubtedly such a book. To say that it "reads like a novel" is to give only a mild suggestion of the absorbing interest of the tale it tells, of the way in which the author holds his reader spell-bound by his penetrating analysis, his keen insight, his amazing command of language.

Probably the book does not add many facts to our knowledge of the recent history of Russia, the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, the career of Lenin, the fugitive revolutionary who went from a garret to the Dictatorship of a vast empire. The facts are here, however, brought together, co-ordinated, analyzed, in such a way as to make us feel that we know the man Lenin in his greatness and his limitations and are taking part in the events in which he is the chief actor.

The book is, moreover, about the best hand-book on labor strategy and tactics that can be imagined, and from this point of view should prove of the greatest value to all active labor people quite regardless of their political or economic views.

Take this utterance of Lenin's: "If you do not know how to suit yourself to circumstances, if you cannot crawl in the mud if need be, you are not a revolutionary, but a mere phrase-maker." Or this: "Let us beware of becoming slaves of our own phrases. . . . Wars are not to be won merely by enthusiasm but by technical superiority, by the condition of the railways. . . . Yes, we shall see the international World Revolution, but meanwhile it is just a good fairy tale, a very pretty fairy tale." Or this little known side of him in a remark to Gorky: "Very often I am unable to listen to music, it affects one's nerves too painfully. It makes one want to talk nonsense

and stroke people's heads—but nowadays one cannot stroke anybody's head for fear of having one's hand bitten off."

If you have appetite for more, get this book. It is a great pity the price is so high. There ought to be a movement started to get out a cheaper edition.

A. J. M.

AMERICA'S TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Representative Industries in the United States. Edited by H. T. Warshaw. New York: Henry Holt, 1928. 700 pp. \$5.

THIS is a book of the triumphal march of technical progress in a score of big industries, in this greatest of capitalist nations, written by leaders of these industries—financial and technical. It gives innumerable figures of income and outgo in industry, of profits and losses, of tons produced and tons consumed and exported, of the development of mass production and the productivity of new machinery. As an afterthought, the writers at times say a few words about labor conditions, although in such important industries as cotton, scarcely a word occurs. While in the steel industry, Marshall T. Jones, formerly engineer for the China U. S. Steel Products Company, hands down to the college student and business men readers of the book such comforting information as the following: "Labor conditions in the steel industry have, on the whole, been satisfactory and free from controversy, with few exceptions, The Steel Corporation has always assumed the lead by doing all in its power to make the men contented, to preserve their health and afford means of recreation." This would have probably even made grim old Judge Gary smile. The author had evidently never read the Inter-Church World's Committee report of the 1919 Steel strike. Perhaps he was in China at the time. Most other sections on labor also gloss over the real problems. And it is pathetic to observe, that, of the twenty-odd industries here described in some detail, in only the construction industry and one or two others, is there any powerful organization of labor.

Chapters such as Professor Parker Willis' on banking show much competence, and the student of labor should be acquainted with such books if only to learn the approach of the business mind to the problem and the technological advances in industry which are so vitally affecting the labor movement in this country for weal or woe.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

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Next month Labor Age celebrates its seventh anniversary. Plans are in hand to make changes in the appearance and contents of this publication that will please all who wish to see a better and brighter Labor Age.

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